

A  
GENERAL HISTORY  
OF  
SIEGES AND BATTLES.  
*By SEA and LAND.*

CONTAINING,  
A Particular and Circumstantial Account  
*Of the most remarkable*  
Battles and Sieges, Bombardments and  
Expeditions,

*In different Ages and Parts of the World;*  
And particularly, such as relate to  
GREAT BRITAIN and her Dependencies.  
Including.

*Anecdotes of the Lives Military and Naval  
Transactions, of all the celebrated Admirals,  
Generals, Captains, &c. who have distinguish-  
ed themselves in the Service of their Country.*

In which will be explained,  
The MILITARY and NAVAL Terms of Art.  
*Embellished with*

PLANS of the Battles, and HEADS of the Illustrious  
Persons, mentioned in the Course of the Work.

VOL. XII. 8<sup>th</sup> of the Modern Part.

*L O N D O N :*

Printed for J. CURTIS in Fleet-street, and  
J. JOHNSON opposite the Monument, 1762.



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A  
GENERAL HISTORY  
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CHAP. I.

*The wars of England during the reign of  
George I.*

UPON the death of queen  
Anne \*, prince George elector  
of Brunswick-Lunenburgh suc-  
ceeded to the crown of Great  
Britain. But being at the de-  
mise of the queen, in Hanover, it  
was some time † before he arrived here to take

\* August 1, 1714.

† He landed at Greenwich the 18th of Septem-  
ber, and on the 20th made his public entry thro'  
London.

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possession

possession of the throne. It is supposed that a strong party was formed both in England and Scotland before the death of the late queen in favour of the pretender. In consequence of which a rebellion broke out in Scotland, abetted by another in England; the very year after his majesty king George ascended the throne.

The rebellion in Scotland was headed by the earl of Mar; about the beginning of August †, he withdrew from London into the Highlands, and having consulted with his friends, and drawn a number of men together, he set up the Pretender's standard there, Sept. 6, and proclaimed him at several places. General Wightman, who was then in Scotland, had orders to form a camp near Stirling, and distress the rebels as much as he could, till the duke of Argyle's arrival.

The insurrection in the west of England, the seditious attempts at Oxford and Bath, the seizing of Bristol and Plymouth, were prevented by the timely precautions of the government; but in the North, the earl of Derwentwater, the lord Widdrington, Mr. Forster, knight of the shire for Northumberland, and others, appeared in arms in October. Tho' their numbers were but small, yet they proclaimed the Pretender, first at Warkworth



then at Morpeth, Hexham, and other places. They were all horse, not being able to entertain any foot for want of arms. They were first strengthened by the junction of some lords from the West of Scotland, who by the instructions of Mar, had raised some forces for the Pretender; as the viscount Kenmure, who set up his standard at Loughmaben, and the earls of Nithisdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun, who joined the English rebels with their small force at Rothbury. Soon after, they marched to Kelso on the borders, and joined a body of Highlanders, whom Mar, after he had taken possession of the fruitful county of Fife, had found means to send over the Firth, under Mackintosh; with whom also was the lord Nairn. General Carpenter being sent in pursuit of the rebels, arrived at Newcastle, October 18, and soon set out to attack the rebels at Kelso. This made them leave that place, and march to Jedburgh. They were much divided in their counsels. Mackintosh was for engaging the king's forces under general Carpenter, which were inferior in number; but Forster, who was called general of the English rebels, was against it. Wintoun was for marching back and joining the earl of Mar, but the English were for marching into England, which was at last agreed to; and when the Highlanders perceived it, five hundred of them separated and went home. From Jedburgh then they marched to Hawick, thence



to Langholme, and thence to Longtown in Cumberland, still endeavouring to avoid general Carpenter, who was in pursuit of them. From Longtown they marched to Brampton, and then to Penrith. Here the militia, tho' double their number, instead of opposing them, took to their heels and ran away. From Penrith they proceeded to Appleby, being joined but by few in all these marches. Then to Kendal, and so to Kirbylonsdale; and here some Lancashire papists with their servants and tenants joining them, they marched forwards, and came to Lancaster †. Here having seized six or seven pieces of cannon, they proceeded to Preston, and would have gone further but were surprized by the approach of general Wills; and so they shut themselves up as well as they could in the town, barricadoing the streets, and making a proper disposition of their men to receive the attack of the king's troops. General Wills came before the town § and ordered brigadier Honeywood to attack that end of the town which leads to Wigan, and brigadier Dormer that which leads to Lancaster. The king's troops suffered much by the rebels fire from the windows. But at last the enemy being driven from their first barricade, several houses being set on fire, and general

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† November 7. § November 12.

*the reign of George I.*

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Carpenter arriving, they were soon reduced to the necessity of surrendering to the king's mercy. They sent out to capitulate on the 13, but general Wills told them, he would not treat with rebels, and no other terms would be granted but submitting prisoners at discretion: which they did the next day at seven in the morning, and so were disarmed and made prisoners, to the number of four hundred and sixty-three English, and above one thousand Scots, many having found means to escape. Several were killed and wounded on both sides, but more of the king's troops than of the rebels, who were every where under cover.

On the very day that the rebels were subdued at Preston, Sunday November 13, the duke of Argyle, with about four thousand men, engaged the rebel army under the earl of Mar, consisting of about eight, or nine, thousand, at Sheriffmuir near Dumblain, about four miles from Stirling. The battle was obstinate and bloody, various accounts were given of it, and both sides claimed the victory. The duke of Argyle, with the right of his army, soon put the left of the enemy to the rout; but whilst he was pursuing them a considerable way with great slaughter, the right of the rebels had the better of the left of the royal army, and made such terrible havock among them, that they had like to have been all cut off. Upon the whole,

the king's forces had the advantage. The earl of Mar, immediately after the battle, retreated to Perth, but his design of crossing the Forth was entirely frustrated. The earl of Ilay, brother to the duke of Argyle, was in the action, behaved with great intrepidity, and was wounded in his arm and side. About eight hundred of the rebels were killed, and many made prisoners, among whom were several gentlemen. About the same time, the lord Lovat took Inverness from the rebels, which was a place of great importance.

The rest of November and all December, both sides remained quiet in their quarters, the duke of Argyle at Stirling, and the earl of Mar at Perth. The pretender arrived † in a Dunkirk privateer, at Peterhead in Scotland, where he was presently met and complimented by the earl of Mar, and other of his adherents. From Peterhead he went to Feterosse, on January 6, to Dundee, and from thence to Scoon, two miles from Perth. Here he published several proclamations, particularly one for a convention of the states, and another for his coronation, and assumed other acts of royalty. But towards the end of January, the duke of Argyle, assisted by lieutenant-general Cadogan and other general officers, who were sent against him, and rein-

December 22.

forced

forced by a good train of artillery, and the Dutch troops lately landed, marching from Stirling to attack the rebels at Perth, who now no longer expected assistance from France, upon his approach, they abandoned the place, and retired with the Pretender to Dundee, and from thence to Montrose; where finding they were closely pursued by the king's forces, on February 14, the Pretender, with the earls of Mar and Melfort, the lord Drummond, and some other chiefs, found means to make their escape in a French ship which lay there; soon after which the rebels dispersed, some submitted, and some were taken prisoners ||.

I now

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|| The chief of the rebels taken at Preston were brought up to London. When they came near the city they were all pinioned with cords, their horses being led by foot soldiers, and so made a miserable procession amidst numberless spectators. Among them was their general Forster, as also the earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Carnwath and Wintoun, viscount Kenmure, and the lords Widdrington and Nairn. The noblemen were sent to the tower, and the rest to Newgate and other prisons. The parliament meeting January 9, the seven lords were presently impeached of high treason. All pleaded guilty but Wintoun, who stood a trial and was cast; and so they had all sentence of death passed on them by the lord chancellor Cowper, who was appointed lord high steward



*The wars of England during*

I now pass on to the year 1718, when Philip of Spain taking advantage of the emperor's being engaged in a war with the Turks, had last year invaded Sardinia. This open hostility against the emperor, put the courts of Great Britain, France, and the States General, upon concerting measures to restore and preserve the tranquility of Europe. And so after a peace had been concluded and signed

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steward upon the occasion. Derwentwater and Kermure were beheaded on Tower-hill, Feb. 24, 1715-16. Nithisdale, who was to have been executed with them, had the good fortune to make his escape out of the Tower the night before, disguised in woman's apparel with a riding-hood over it. Wintoun escaped from the same prison afterwards, as did Forster and Mackintosh out of Newgate. Some were executed in the country, eleven at Preston, six at Wigan, and five at Manchester. A few were hanged at Tyburn, particularly one Gascoign, col. Oxburgh, Mr. Paul a clergyman, and Mr. Hall who had been a justice of peace. Some who were found guilty were transported, others reprieved; some were acquitted on their trial: and those who were untried or reprieved, continued objects of his majesty's clemency, and had the benefit of the act of grace that afterwards passed. But the earl of Mar, the marquiss of Tullibardine and some others who fled from Scotland, were attainted by act of parliament.



at Passarowitz, July 2, this year, between the Imperial and Ottoman courts, by the mediation of the king of Great Britain and the States General, the quadruple alliance, or mutual guarantee, between the emperor, Great Britain, France and Holland, was signed at London on the 22d of the same month. Previous to this treaty, was a convention between his Britannick majesty and the most Christian king, for settling the terms of the treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of Spain, and between his imperial majesty and the duke of Savoy king of Sicily. This convention was inserted in the treaty of London, or quadruple alliance, and declared, that the invasion of Sardinia was a breach of the neutrality of Italy; that Sicily should be delivered up to the emperor, and Sardinia in lieu thereof, given to the duke of Savoy. And the succession to the dutchies of Parma, and Tuscany was settled on the queen of Spain's son, upon failure of heirs in those houses, provided the king of Spain entered into the treaty by a certain time. To secure the effects of this treaty, Great Britain sent out two strong squadrons of men of war, one under Sir George Byng to the Mediterranean, and the other to the Baltick, under sir John Norris; some of the powers in the North being then on ill terms with Great Britain.

On the other hand, the king of Spain, foreseeing that Sicily was to be delivered up to the emperor

emperor, resolved by the advice of Cardina Alberoni, then prime minister in Spain, to seize it for himself. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet, which made a descent upon that island, the beginning of July, and reduced Palermo and several other places. But while they were busy in attacking the citadel of Messina, the English fleet commanded by sir George Byng came up, and after warning given to the Spaniards, to no purpose, to desist from their enterprize, there ensued a bloody engagement, on July 31<sup>st</sup>, in which the Spanish fleet was entirely defeated. The king of Spain, by his attempt upon Sicily, had violated the treaty of Utrecht and the neutrality of Italy, of which the crown of Great Britain was one of the guarantees; yet this sudden blow was highly resented by the Spaniards; and as a rupture must necessarily be the consequence, war was declared against Spain, in December following, both by Great Britain and France.

On March 10, his majesty acquainted the parliament, that he had received intelligence from the French king, of an invasion intended from Spain in favour of the Pretender. Both houses gave his majesty the strongest assurances of assistance, and immediate orders were given for fitting out a good squadron of men of war; the troops marched to guard the

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† 1719.

coasts,

coasts, four regiments were brought over from Ireland, two Swiss battalions arrived in the river Thames, and three Dutch battalions landed in the North of England. Besides this, the French king and the governor of the Austrian Netherlands ordered bodies of troops to march, so as to be in a readiness to be transported to England upon occasion. These preparations made by the king and his allies had been sufficient to have defeated the invasion had it taken effect. But the winds were beforehand with them, and hindered the execution of the design. For the Spanish fleet of about fifty transports, convoyed by four men of war, having on board the late duke of Ormond, about five thousand men and arms for twice their number, sailing from Cadiz, was entirely dispersed by a violent storm, which lasted forty-eight hours. However, the late earls of Seaforth and Mareschal and the marquis of Tillibardine, landed at Kintail in Scotland, with about four hundred men, mostly Spaniards, from on board two transports, and quickly got together above one thousand six hundred Highlanders. But major general Wightman coming upon them, soon drove them from their fastnesses, and dispersed them: about three hundred of the Spaniards surrendering prisoners at discretion. As to Seaforth, Mareschal and Tillibardine, they made the best of their way to the islands, from

from whence they found means to transport themselves back into Spain.

In an expedition against Spain, this year, the lord Cobham with the land forces, and vice admiral Mighels with the fleet, took Vigo, and several incurfions were made on the Spanish coasts; tho' the advantage of this expedition did not answer the expence. After a short stay at Vigo, the general finding but little good to be done, ordered the forces to re-embark, and returned in November, with the cannon and stores he had taken in the town and citadel.

There being some misunderstanding between his majesty and the czar of Muscovy, a strong squadron, commanded by sir John Norris, was sent this year ‡, as well as the last, to the Baltick, to make good our alliance with Sweden, and to prevent the secret designs of his czarian majesty.

The long depending mediation of Great Britain and France for composing the differences between the emperor and the king of Spain coming to nothing §, by the Spanish court being extremely irritated against that of France for their sending back the infanta to Spain, who had been espoused to the French king; and England not caring to act without France,

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‡ 1720:

§ 1725.

their



their imperial and catholick majesties came to an agreement themselves, and concluded a treaty at Vienna, which was deemed prejudicial to the interest of Great Britain, as the Ostend company, which the emperor had established, was to be supported by it, and as the restitution of Gibraltar and Port Mahon to the Spaniards, seemed to be the consequence of it; and 'twas said, there were secret articles in favour of the Pretender. This treaty between the emperor and Spain, produced the famous treaty of Hanover, concluded whilst his majesty was there, September 3, 1725, between Great Britain, France, and Prussia, tho' the last, in effect, soon deserted this alliance, but the States General afterwards acceded to it. This treaty was designed to be a ballance to that between the courts of Vienna and Madrid. These counter alliances put Europe again in a flame; and the consequence was, that, in 1726, three British squadrons were fitted out; one sent to the West-Indies under the command of admiral Hosier, where it lay a great while, to block up the Spanish plate-fleet; another to the coast of Spain, under sir John Jennings; and the third into the Baltick commanded by sir Charles Wager, to hinder the czarina from attacking the king of Sweden, who was upon the point of acceding to the Hanover treaty, as he did soon after. Another squadron was sent thither the following year, under sir John Norris, for the same purpose,



purpose, when sir Charles Wager was with that on the coasts of Spain. M de Palm, the imperial resident here, having presented to his majesty an insolent memorial, which he as insolently printed and dispersed, wherein he asserted, that the offensive alliance mentioned by his majesty in his speech to his parliament, when speaking of the Vienna treaty, as likewise the secret articles he mentioned concerning the Pretender, were absolutely without foundation, was ordered forthwith to leave the kingdom. In the beginning of the year 1727, the Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar, which tho' it was suspended, upon preliminary articles for a general pacification being signed, was not raised till some time after the king's death.

His majesty set out from St. James's on June 3<sup>d</sup>, and arrived about ten at night, at his brother the duke of York's palace at Os-naburg June 11, 1727, about one the next morning he expired there, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and thirteenth of his reign.

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§ 1727.

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A. P.

The court of England during

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GEORGE *the* II<sup>a</sup>.

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## C H A P. II.

*The wars of England during the reign of George II.*

**K**ING George II. ascended the British throne as mentioned in the close of the last chapter. The first war that occurred in his majesty's reign was that with Spain. As the events that prepared the way to a declaration of war against Spain, are so tedious, and unsuitable to the main design of this work, I shall only briefly observe, That ever since the treaty of Seville the Spaniards had almost incessantly insulted and distressed the commerce of Great Britain, in America. The rights of the English to cut Logwood in the bay of Campeachy: and gather salt on the island of Tortugas, was strongly disputed by the Spaniards. In consequence of which, they under a pretence of searching our ships for contraband goods, frequently exerted the utmost violence, cruelty, and even rapine. The voice of the merchants and people in general, was strongly for a war: but sir Robert Walpole, who then had the administration of affairs, endeavoured to his utmost to prevent matters coming to an open rupture. The matter was however strongly canvassed in both houses of parliament. This produced



an address to the throne, when his majesty assured them that he would repeat the most pressing instances at the court of Spain, to procure satisfaction and security to his subjects he repeated the same assurances in his speech at the close of the session ||. To enforce the negotiation of our minister at the court of Spain, rear-admiral Haddock soon after sailed for the Mediterranean with a strong squadron.

At the opening of the next session of parliament the king acquainted the house that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the king of Spain, in which it was agreed that reparation should be made to the British subjects for their losses. However the house did not seem very well satisfied with this measure, and very warm debates ensued. As soon as the convention itself was made public, the cities of London, and Bristol, and the merchants trading to America, and those of Liverpool, and others, presented petitions against the convention, as that had procured them no immediate relief, but only referred the matters in dispute to plenipotentiaries. It was moved that the merchants should be heard by their counsel, but this was strenuously opposed by the ministry, and rejected upon a division. At the grand debate in the



house upon the convention, the court party, though with great difficulty, carried their point, and an address was accordingly agreed on, in favour of the convention. At length the clamours of the people became so great and general, that a resolution was taken to grant letters of marque, and reprisals against the Spaniards\*. The king of Spain, looking upon these reprisals as acts of hostility, published a manifesto in justification of his own conduct, and concerning that of England. A war between the two nations seemed now inevitable. The English had already taken two rich Caracca ships in the Mediterranean. Orders were issued for augmenting our land forces, and raising a body of marines; and at the same time a great number of ships were put in commission. Admiral Vernon was sent to command in chief in the West-Indies. And now the king of Spain having ordered all the British ships in his harbours to be seized and detained, the king of England declared war against Spain †. This encouraged many English merchants to fit out privateers to distress the enemy and to arm their trading vessels to secure their own commerce.

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\* A promotion was also made of general officers the troops were augmented, a great fleet was assembled at Spithead; a reinforcement sent out to admiral Haddock, and an embargo laid on all merchants ships.

† October 23, 1739.

On the thirteenth day of March † a ship arrived from the West-Indies, dispatched by admiral Vernon, with an account of his account of his having taken Porto Bello, on the isthmus of Darien, with six ships only, and demolished all the fortifications of the place. The enemy acted with such pusillanimity on this occasion, that their forts were taken almost without bloodshed. The two houses of parliament joined in an address of congratulation upon this success of his majesty's arms; and the nation in general was wonderfully elated by this glorious exploit. The commons provided for eight and twenty thousand land-forces, besides six thousand marines. And enabled his majesty to equip a very powerful navy.

The preparations of war were vigorously carried on by the ministry in England. They had wisely resolved to annoy the Spaniards in their American possessions. Three ships of war cruising in the bay of Biscay, fell in with a large Spanish ship of the line strongly manned, and took her after a very obstinate engagement. One camp was formed on Hounslow heath; and the six thousand marines lately levied were encamped on the Isle of Wight, in order to be embarked for the West-Indies. Intelligence being received that a

strong squadron of Spanish ships of war waited at Ferrol for orders to sail to their American settlements, sir John Norris sailed with a powerful fleet from Spithead, to dispute their voyage; and the duke of Cumberland served in person as a volunteer in this expedition: but, after divers fruitless efforts, he was by contrary winds obliged to lie inactive for the greatest part of the summer in Torbay; and, upon advice that the French and Spanish squadrons had sailed to the West-Indies in conjunction, the design against Ferrol was wholly laid aside. In September, a small squadron of ships commanded by commodore Anson, set sail for the South-sea, in order to act against the enemy on the coast of Chili and Peru, and co-operate occasionally with admiral Vernon across the isthmus of Darien. The scheme was well layed, but ruined by unnecessary delays, and unforeseen accidents. A formidable armament was designed for the northern coast of New Spain, and his catholic majesty's other settlements on that side of the Atlantic. Commissions had been issued for raising a regiment of four battalions in the English colonies in North America, that they might be transported to Jamaica, and join the forces from England. These, consisting of the marines, and detachments from some old regiments, were embarked in October at the Isle of Wight, under the command of lord Cathcart,

Cathcart, and they sailed † under convoy of sir Chaloner Ogle, with a fleet of seven and twenty ships of the line, beside frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and tenders. They were likewise furnished with hospital-ships, and store-ships loaded with provision, ammunition, all sorts of warlike implements, and every kind of convenience.

The British armament had by this time proceeded to action in the West Indies ||. Sir Chaloner Ogle who sailed from Spithead, had been overtaken by a tempest in the bay of Biscay, by which the fleet, consisting of about one hundred and seventy sail, were scattered and dispersed. Nevertheless, he prosecuted his voyage, and anchored with a view to provide wood and water, in the island of Dominica, where the intended expedition sustained a terrible shock in the death of the gallant lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dysentery. The loss of this nobleman was the more severely felt, as the command of the land-forces devolved upon general Wentworth, an officer without experience, authority, and resolution. As the fleet sailed along the island of Hispaniola, in its way to Jamaica, four large ships of war were discovered; and sir Chaloner detached an equal number of his squadron



give them chace; while he himself proceeded on his voyage. As those strange ships refused to bring to, lord Augustus Fitzroy, the commodore of the four British ships saluted one of them with a broadside, and a smart engagement ensued. After they had fought during the best part of the night, the enemy hoisted their colours in the morning, appeared to be part of the French squadron, which had sailed from Europe under the command of the marquis d'Atin, with orders to assist the Spanish admiral de Torres, in attacking and distressing the English ships and colonies. War was not yet declared between France and England therefore hostilities ceased: the English and French commanders complimented each other, excused themselves mutually, for the mistake which had happened, and parted as friends, with a considerable loss of men on both sides.

In the mean time sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica, where he joined vice-admiral Vernon, who now found himself at the head of the most formidable fleet and army that ever visited those seas, with full power to act at discretion. The conjoined squadrons consisted of nine and twenty ships of the line, with almost an equal number of frigates, fireships and bomb ketches, well manned, and plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, stores and necessaries. The number of seamen amounted to fifteen thousand: that of  
the

the land-forces, including the American regiment of four battalions, and a body of negroes enlisted at Jamaica did not fall short of twelve thousand.

But several unfavourable circumstances concurred to frustrate the success that might have been expected.

Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica on the ninth day of January; and admiral Vernon did not sail on his intended expedition till towards the end of the month. Instead of directing his course to the Havannah, which lay to leeward, and might have been reached in less than three days, he resolved to beat up against the wind to Hispaniola, in order to observe the motion of the French squadron, commanded by the marquis d'Antin. The fifteenth day of February had elapsed before he received certain information that the French admiral had sailed for Europe in great distress, for want of men and provisions, which he could not procure in the West Indies. Admiral Vernon thus disappointed, called a council of war, in which it was determined to proceed for Carthagena. The fleet being supplied with wood and water at Hispaniola, set sail for the continent of New Spain, and on the fourth of March anchored in Blaya Grande, to the windward of Carthagena. Admiral de Torres had already sailed to the Havannah; but the place was strongly fortified, and the garrisons reinforced by the crews

of a small Squadron of large ships, commanded by Don Blas de Leso, an officer of experience and reputation. There they lay inactive till the ninth, when the troops were landed on the island of Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of Boca-chica, or Littlemouth, which was surprisngly fortified with castles, batteries, bombs, chains, cables, and ships of war. The British forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the admiral sent in a number of ships to divide the fire of the enemy, and co-operate with the endeavours of the army. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded one of these ships, was slain on this occasion. The breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the attack : but, the forts and batteries were abandoned ; the Spanish ships that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were destroyed, or taken, the passage was opened, and the fleet entered without further opposition. Then the forces were reembarked with the artillery, and landed within a mile of Carthagena, where they were opposed by about seven hundred Spaniards, whom they obliged to retire. The admiral and general far from acting vigorously in concert, for the advantage of the community, they maintained a mutual reserve, and separate cabals ; and each proved more eager

eager for the disgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of the nation.

The admiral affirmed, that his ships could not lie near enough to batter the town of Carthagena; and upbraided the general with inactivity and want of resolution to attack the fort of St. Lazar, which commanded the town, and might be taken by scalade. Wentworth, resolved to try the experiment. His forces marched up to the attack; but the guides being slain, they mistook their route, and advanced to the strongest part of the fortification, where they were moreover exposed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was mortally wounded: the scaling ladders were found too short; the officers were perplexed for want of orders and directions: yet the soldiers sustained a severe fire for several hours with surprising intrepidity, and at length retreated, leaving about six hundred killed or wounded on the spot. Their number was now so much reduced, that they could no longer maintain their footing on shore: besides, the rainy season had begun with such violence, as rendered it impossible for them to live in camp. They were therefore reembarked; and all hope of further success immediately vanished. The admiral, however, in order to demonstrate the impracticability of taking the place by sea, sent in the Galicia,  
one



one of the Spanish ships which had been taken at Boca-chica, to cannonade the town, with sixteen guns mounted on one side, like a floating battery. This vessel manned by detachments of volunteers from different ships, and commanded by captain Hore, was warped into the inner harbour, and moored before day, at a considerable distance from the walls, and in very shallow water. In this position she stood the fire of several batteries for some hours without doing or sustaining much damage: then the admiral ordered the men to be brought off in boats, and the cables to be cut; so that she drove with the sea-breeze upon a shoal, where she was soon filled with water.

After the reembarkation of the troops, the distempers peculiar to the climate and season began to rage with redoubled fury; and great numbers of those who escaped the vengeance of the enemy, perished by a more painful and inglorious fate. The fortifications of the harbour were demolished, and the fleet returned to Jamaica.

While admiral Haddock, with twelve ships of the line, lay at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, the Spanish fleet passed the Straights in the night, and was joined by the French squadron from Toulon. The British admiral sailing from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days, and found both squadrons drawn up in line of battle. As he bore down

upon the Spanish fleet, the French admiral sent a flag of truce to inform him, that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with his master's allies. This interposition prevented an engagement, the combined fleets amounting to double the number of the English squadron. Admiral Haddock was obliged to desist; and proceeded to Portmahon, leaving the enemy to prosecute their voyage without molestation.

The Spaniards no sooner learned the destination of commodore Anson, who had sailed from Spithead in the course of the preceding year, than they sent Don Pizarro, with a more powerful squadron, upon the same voyage, to defeat his design. He accordingly steered the same course, and actually fell in with one or two ships of the British armament near the Straights of Magellan; but he could not weather a long and furious tempest, through which Mr. Anson proceeded into the South sea. One of the Spanish ships perished at sea, another was wrecked on the coast of Brazil, and Pizarro bore away for the Rio de la Platta, where he arrived with the three remaining ships, in a shattered condition, after having lost twelve hundred men by sickness and famine. The Spaniards exerted the same vigilance and activity in Europe. Their privateers were so industrious and successful, that

in the beginning of this year, † they had taken, since the commencement of the war, four hundred and seven ships, belonging to the subjects of Great Britain, and valued at near four millions of piastres. In the course of the summer, Sir John Norris had twice sailed towards the coast of Spain, at the head of a powerful squadron, without taking any effectual step for annoying the enemy.

The new ministry ‡ in England had sent out || admiral Matthews to assume the command of this squadron, which had been for some time conducted by Lestock, an inferior officer, as Haddeck had been obliged to resign his commission on account of his ill state of health. Matthews was likewise invested with the character of minister plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia and the states of Italy. Immediately after he had taken possession of his command, he ordered captain Norris to destroy five Spanish gallies which had put into the bay of St. Tropez; and this service was effectually performed. In May he detached commodore Rowley with eight sail, to cruise off the harbour of Toulon: and a great

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† 1741.

‡ For a little before Sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and the ministry was almost wholly changed.

|| 1742.

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number

number of merchant-ships belonging to the enemy fell into his hands. In August he sent commodore Martin with another squadron into the bay of Naples, to bombard that city, unless his Sicilian majesty would immediately recal his troops which had joined the Spanish army, and promise to remain neuter during the continuance of the war. Naples was immediately filled with consternation: the king subscribed to these conditions; and the English squadron-rejoined the admiral in the road of Hierres, which he had chosen for his winter-station. But before this period he had landed some men at St. Remo, in the territories of Genoa, and destroyed the magazines that were erected for the use of the Spanish army. He had likewise ordered two of his cruisers to attack a Spanish ship of the line which lay at anchor in the port of Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica, but the Spanish captain set his men on shore, and blew up his ship, rather than she should fall into the hands of the English.

In the course of this year \* admiral Vernon and general Wentworth made another effort in the West Indies. They had received in January a reinforcement from England, and planned a new expedition, in concert with the governor of Jamaica, who accompanied them



in the voyage. Their design was to disembark the troops at Porto-Bello, and march across the isthmus of Darien, to attack the rich town of Panama. They sailed from Jamaica on the ninth day of March, and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Porto-Bello. There they held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that as the troops were sickly, the rainy season begun, and several transports not yet arrived, the intended expedition was become impracticable. In pursuance of this determination the armament immediately returned to Jamaica. In August a ship of war was sent from thence, with about three hundred soldiers, to the small island Rattan, in the bay of Honduras, of which they took possession. In September Vernon and Wentworth received orders to return to England with such troops as remained alive; and these did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been sent abroad in that inglorious service.

In the month of June the new colony of Georgia was invaded by an armament from St. Augustine, commanded by Don Marinel de Monteano, governor of that fortress. It consisted of six and thirty ships, from which four thousand men were landed at St. Simon's and began their march to Frederica, tho' with such little activity and resolution, that after two of their detachments had been defeated, they retired to their ships, and totally abandoned the enterprize.

The war with Spain was now become a secondary consideration, and neglected accordingly ; while the chief attention of the new minister lord Carteret, was turned upon the affairs of the continent. The dispute with Spain concerned Britain only. The interests of Hanover were connected with the troubles of the empire †.

About this period a treaty of mutual defence and guarantee between his majesty and

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† The parliament met on the sixteenth day of November, when his majesty told them, that he had augmented the British forces in the Low-countries with sixteen thousand Hanoverians and the Hessian auxiliaries, in order to form such a force, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, as might be of service to the common cause in all events. He extolled the magnanimity and fortitude of the queen of Hungary, as well as the resolute conduct of the king of Sardinia, and his strict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions. He mentioned the requisition made by Sweden, of his good offices for procuring a peace between that nation and Russia, the defensive alliances which he had concluded with the czarina, and with the king of Prussia, as events which could not have been expected if Great Britain had not manifested a seasonable spirit and vigour in defence and assistance of her antient allies, and in maintaining the liberties of Europe.

the

the king of Prussia was signed at Westminster. At this period † the queen of Hungary seemed to triumph over all her enemies. But several princes resented her haughty conduct, and began to be alarmed at the success of the house of Austria; and others pitied the deplorable situation of the emperor. The kings of Great Britain and Prussia, as electors of Hanover and Brandenburg, espoused opposite sides in this contest. His Prussian majesty protested against the investiture of the dutchy of Saxe-Lawenburgh, claimed by the king of Great Britain.

The troops which the king of Great Britain had assembled in the Netherlands, began their march for the Rhine in the latter end of February; and in May they encamped near Hoech on the river Mayne, under the command of the earl of Stair, who sent major-general Bland to Franckfort with a compliment to the emperor, assuring him, in the name of his Britannick majesty, that the respect owing to his dignity should not be violated, nor the place of his residence disturbed. Notwithstanding this assurance the emperor retired to Munich, though he was afterwards compelled to return by the success of the Austrians in Bavaria. The French king, in order to prevent the junction of the British forces with prince Charles of Lorraine, ordered the ma-

rechal de Noailles, to assemble sixty thousand men upon the Mayne; while Coigny was sent into Alsace with a numerous army, to defend that province and oppose prince Charles, should he attempt to pass the Rhine. The marchal de Noailles having secured the towns of Spire, Worms and Oppenheim, passed the Rhine in the beginning of June, and posted himself on the east side of that river, above Franckfort. The earl of Stair advanced towards him, and encamped at Killenbach, between the river Mayne and the forest of D'Armstaet; from this situation he made a motion to Aschaffsburgh, with a view to secure the navigation of the Upper Mayne; but, he was anticipated by the enemy, who lay on the other side of the river, and had taken possession of the posts above, so as to intercept all supplies. They were posted on the other side of the river, opposite to the allies, whose camp they overlooked; and they found means by their parties and other precautions, to cut off the communication by water between Franckfort and the confederates. The duke of Cumberland had already come to make his first campaign, and his majesty arrived in the camp on the ninth day of June. He found his army, amounting to about forty thousand men, in danger of starving: he received intelligence, that a reinforcement of twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians had reached Hanau; and he resolved to march thither,

both



both with a view to effect the junction and to provide provision for his forces he decamped on the 26th day of June. He had no sooner quitted Aschaffenburg than it was seized by the French ; and he had not marched above three leagues, when he perceived the enemy to the number of thirty thousand, had passed the river further down, and were drawn up in order of battle at the village of Dettingen, to dispute his passage. Thus he found himself cooped up in a very dangerous situation. The enemy had possessed themselves of Aschaffenburg behind, so as to prevent his retreat : his troops were confined in a narrow plain, bounded by hills and woods on the right, flanked on the left by the river Mayne, on the opposite side of which the French had erected batteries that annoyed the allies on their march and in the front a considerable part of the French army was drawn up, with a narrow pass before them, the village of Dettingen on their right, a wood on the left, and a morass in the center. Thus environed, the confederates must either have fought at a very great disadvantage, or surrendered themselves prisoners of war, had not the duke de Gramont, who commanded the enemy, been instigated by the spirit of madness to forego these advantages. He passed the defile, and advancing towards the allies, a battle ensued. The French horse charged with great impetuosity, and some regiments of British cavalry were put in disorder ; but the infantry of the allies

behaved with such intrepidity and deliberation, under the eye of their sovereign, as soon determined the fate of the day; the French were obliged to give way, and repass the Mayne with great precipitation, having lost about five thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. Had they been properly pursued before they recollected themselves from their first confusion, in all probability they would have sustained a total overthrow. The earl of Stair proposed, that a body of cavalry should be detached on this service; but, his advice was over-ruled. The loss of the allies in this action amounted to two thousand men. The generals Clayton and Monroy were killed: the duke of Cumberland, who exhibited uncommon proofs of courage, was shot through the calf of the leg: the earl of Albemarle, general Huske, and several other officers of distinction, were wounded. The king exposed his person to a severe fire of cannon as well as musquetry: he rode between the first and second lines with his sword drawn, and encouraged his troops to fight for the honour of England. Immediately after the action he continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the reinforcement. The earl of Stair sent a trumpet to marshal de Noailles, recommending to his protection the sick and wounded that were left on the field of battle; and these the French

French general treated with great care and tenderness.

The two armies continued on different sides of the river till the twelfth day of July, when the French general received intelligence that prince Charles of Lorraine had approached the Neckar, he suddenly retired, and repassed the Rhine between Worms and Oppenheim. The king of Great Britain was visited by prince Charles and count Khevenhuller at Hanau, where the future operations of the campaign were regulated. On the 27th day of August, the allied army passed the Rhine at Mentz, and the king fixed his head quarters in the episcopal palace at Worms. Here the forces lay encamped till the latter end of September, when they advanced to Spire, where they were joined by twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries from the Netherlands. Marshal Noailles having retreated into Upper Alsace, the allies took possession of Germersheim, and demolished the intrenchments which the enemy had raised on the Queich; than they returned to Mentz, and in October were distributed into winter-quarters, after an inactive campaign that redounded very little to the honour of those by whom the motions of the army were conducted.

In September a treaty had been concluded at Worms between his Britannic majesty, the  
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king of Sardinia, and the queen of Hungary She engaged to maintain thirty thousand men in Italy : the king of Sardinia obliged himself to employ forty thousand infantry and five thousand horse, in consideration of his commanding the combined army, and receiving an annual subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds from Great-Britain.

This sum the king of England promised to disburse ; and moreover to maintain a strong squadron in the Mediterranean, the commander of which should act in concert with his Sardinian majesty. Finally, the contracting powers agreed, that Final should be constituted a free port like that of Leghorn.

After the battle of Dettingen colonel Mentzel, at the head of a large body of irregulars belonging to the queen of Hungary, made an irruption into Lorraine, part of which they ravaged without mercy. In September prince Charles, with the Austrian army, entered the Brisgaw, and attempted to pass the Rhine ; but marshal Coigny had taken such precautions for guarding it on the other side, that he was obliged to abandon his design, and marching back into the Upper Palatinate, quartered his troops in that country and in Bavaria. By this time the earl of Stair had solicited and obtained leave to resign his command. He had for some time thought himself neglected ; and was unwilling that his reputation should suffer on  
account



account of measures in which he had no concern.

In October the king of Great-Britain returned to Hanover, and the army separated. The troops in British pay marched back to the Netherlands, and the rest took the route to their respective countries. The States-general still wavered between their own immediate interest and their desire to support the house of Austria. At length, however, they supplied her with a subsidy, and ordered twenty thousand men to march to her assistance. The king of Prussia disapproved of this measure, and refused them a passage thro' his territories, to the Rhine.

The British fleet commanded by admiral Matthews overawed all the states that bordered on the Mediterranean. About the end of June, understanding that fourteen xebecks, loaded with artillery and ammunition for the Spanish army, had arrived at Genoa, he sailed thither from the road of Hieres, and demanded of the republic, that they would either oblige these vessels with the stores to quit their harbour, or sequester their lading until a general peace should be established. After some dispute it was agreed, that the cannon and stores should be deposited in the castle of Bonifacio, situated on a rock at the south end of Corsica, and, that the xebecks should have leave to retire without molestation.

Admiral

Admiral Matthews, though he did not undertake any expedition of importance against the maritime towns of Spain, continued to assert the British empire at sea through the whole extent of the Mediterranean. The Spanish army under Don Philip was no sooner in motion, than the English admiral ordered some troops and cannon to be disembarked for the security of Villa-Franca, stores having been landed at Civita-Vecchia for the use of the Spanish forces under count Gages, Matthews interpreted this transaction into a violation of the neutrality which the pope had professed; and sent thither a squadron to bombard the place.

The city of Rome was filled with consternation, and the pope had recourse to the good offices of his Sardinian majesty, in consequence of which the English squadron was ordered to withdraw. The captains of single cruising ships, by their activity and vigilance, wholly interrupted the commerce of Spain, cannonaded and burned some towns on the sea-side, and kept the whole coast in continual alarm.

In the West-Indies some unsuccessful efforts were made by an English squadron, commanded by commodore Knowles. He attacked La Gueira on the coast of Carraccas, in the month of February; but met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to desist, and make the best of his way for  
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the Dutch island Curaçoa, where he repaired the damage he had sustained. His ships being refitted, he made another attempt upon Porto-Cavallo in April, which like the former miscarried. Twelve hundred marines being landed in the neighbourhood of the place, were seized with such a panic, that it was found necessary to reembark them without delay. Then the commodore abandoned the enterprise, and sailed back to his station at the Leeward-islands, without having added much to his reputation, either as to conduct or resolution.

On the continent of America the operations of the war were very inconsiderable. General Oglethorpe having received intelligence, that the Spaniards prepared for another invasion from St. Augustine, assembled a body of Indians as a reinforcement to part of his own regiment, with the Highlanders and rangers; and in the spring began his march, in order to anticipate the enemy. He encamped for some time in the neighbourhood of St. Augustine, by way of defiance: but they did not think proper to hazard an engagement, and as he was in no condition to undertake a siege, he returned to Georgia.

By the parliamentary disputes, the loud clamours, and general dissatisfaction of the people of Great-Britain, the French ministry were persuaded, that the nation was ripe for  
a revolt †

revolt †. This belief was corroborated by the assertions of their emissaries in different parts of Great-Britain and Ireland ‡.

Count

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† See Dr. Smollet's History of England.

‡ They gave the court of Versailles to understand, that if the chevalier de St. George, or his eldest son Charles Edward, should appear at the head of a French army in Great-Britain, a revolution would instantly follow in his favour. This intimation was agreeable to cardinal de Tencin, who had succeeded Fleury as prime minister of France. He was of a violent enterprising temper. He had been recommended to the purple by the chevalier de St. George, and was warmly attached to the Stuart family. His ambition was flattered with a prospect of giving a king to Great-Britain, of performing such eminent service to his benefactor, and of restoring to the throne of their ancestors, a family connected by the ties of blood with all the greatest princes of Europe. He foresaw, that even if his aim should miscarry, a descent upon Great-Britain would make a considerable diversion from the continent in favour of France, and embroil and embarrass his Britannic majesty, who was the chief support of the house of Austria and all its allies. Actuated by these motives, he concerted measures with the chevalier de St. George at Rome, who being too much advanced in years to engage personally in such an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretensions and authority to his son

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Count Saxe was appointed by the French king commander of the troops designed for this expedition, which amounted to fifteen thousand. They began their march to Picardy, and a great number of vessels was assembled for their embarkation, at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne. It was determined that they should be landed in Kent, under convoy of a strong squadron equipped at Brest, and commanded by monsieur de Roqueseuille, an officer of experience and capacity.

Prince Charles departed from Rome about the end of December, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, attended by one servant only, and furnished with passports by cardinal Aquaviva. He travelled through Tuscany to Genoa, from whence he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked for Antibes, and prosecuting his journey to Paris, was indulged with a private audience of the French king: then he set out incognito for the coast

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son Charles, a youth of promising talents, sage, secret, brave, and enterprising; amiable in his person, grave, and even reserved in his deportment. He approved himself in the sequel composed and moderate in success, wonderfully firm in adversity; and, though tenderly nursed in all the delights of an effeminate country, and gentle climate, patient almost beyond belief of cold, hunger and fatigue. See Smollet's history.

of

of Picardy. The British ministry being apprised of his arrival in France, at once comprehended the destination of the armaments prepared at Brest and Bologne.

Mr. Thompson, the English resident at Paris, received orders to make a remonstrance to the French ministry, on the violation of those treaties by which the pretender to the crown of Great-Britain was excluded from the territories of France. But he was given to understand, that his most christian majesty would not explain himself on that subject, until the king of England should have given satisfaction on the repeated complaints which had been made to him, touching the infractions of those very treaties which had been so often violated.

In the month of January ||, M. de Roquefeuille sailed from Brest, directing his course up the English channel, with twenty ships of war. They were immediately discovered by an English cruiser, which ran into Plymouth; and the intelligence was conveyed by land to the board of admiralty. Sir John Norris was forthwith ordered to take the command of the squadron at Spithead, with which he sailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by some ships of the line from Chatham, and then he found himself at the

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|| Year of Christ, 1744.

head

head of a squadron considerably stronger than that of the enemy.

Several regiments marched to the southern coast of England: all governors and commanders were ordered to repair immediately to their respective posts: the forts at the mouth of the Thames and the Medway were put in a posture of defence; and directions were issued to assemble the Kentish militia, to defend the coast in case of an invasion.

A requisition was made of the six thousand auxiliaries which the States-general were by treaty obliged to furnish on such occasions; and these were granted with great alacrity and expedition.

The earl of Stair took this opportunity of offering his services to the government, and was reinvested with the chief command of the forces of Great-Britain. His example was followed by several noblemen of the first rank. The duke of Montague was permitted to raise a regiment of horse, and orders were sent to bring over six thousand of the British troops from Flanders, in case the invasion should actually take place.

Mean while the French court proceeded with their preparations, at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the eye of the young pretender; and seven thousand men were actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille sailed up the channel as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, after having detached

detached M. de Barreil with five ships, to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk. While the French admiral anchored off Dungeness, he perceived, on the twenty-fourth day of February, the British fleet under Sir John Norris, doubling the South Foreland from the Downs; and though the wind was against him, taking the opportunity of the tide to come up and engage the French squadron. Rocquefeuille, who little expected such a visit, could not be altogether composed, considering the great superiority of his enemies: but the tide failing, the English admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues short of the enemy. In this interval, M. Rocquefeuille called a council of war, in which it was determined to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at sunset, and make the best of their way to the place from whence they had set sail. This resolution was favoured by a very hard gale of wind, which began to blow from the north-east, and carried them down the channel with incredible expedition. A great number of their transports were driven ashore and destroyed, and the rest so damaged that they could not be speedily repaired. The English were now masters at sea, and their coast was so well guarded that the enterprize could not be prosecuted with any probability of success. The French generals nominated in this expedition returned to Paris, and the Pretender resolved to wait a more favourable opportunity



ty. The French king no longer preserved any measures with the court of London: the British resident at Paris was given to understand, that a declaration of war must ensue; and this was actually published on the twentieth day of March. On the thirty-first day of March, a declaration of war against France was published at London.

Early this year an action happened in the Mediterranean between the British fleet commanded by admiral Matthews, and the combined squadrons of France and Spain, which had been for some time blocked up in the harbour of Toulon. On the ninth day of February they were perceived standing out of the road, to the number of four and thirty sail: the English admiral immediately weighed from Hieres-bay, and on the eleventh, part of the fleets engaged. Matthews attacked the Spanish admiral don Navarro, whose ship the *Real* was a first-rate, mounted with above an hundred guns. The rear-admiral Rowley singled out M. de Court who commanded the French squadron, and a very few captains followed the example of their commanders: but vice-admiral Lestock, with his whole division, remained at a great distance astern; and several captains that were immediately under the eye of Matthews, behaved in such a manner as reflected disgrace upon their country. The whole transaction was conducted without order or deliberation. The French  
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and Spaniards would have willingly avoided an engagement, as the British Squadron was superior to them in strength and number.

M. de Court therefore made the best of his way towards the Streights mouth, probably with intention to join the Brest Squadron: but he had orders to protect the Spanish fleet, and as they sailed heavily, he was obliged to wait for them, at the hazard of maintaining a battle with the English. Thus circumstanced he made sail and lay to by turns, so that the British admiral could not engage them in proper order; and as they out-sailed his ships, he began to fear they would escape him altogether should he wait for vice-admiral Lestock, who was so far astern. Under this apprehension he made the the signal for engaging, while that for the line of battle was still displayed; and this inconsistency naturally introduced confusion. The fight was maintained by the few who engaged with great vivacity. The Real being quite disabled, and lying like a wreck upon the water, Mr. Matthews sent a fireship to destroy her; but the expedient did not take effect. The ship ordered to cover this machine did not obey the signal; so that the captain of the fireship was exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheless, he continued to advance until he found the vessel sinking; and being within a few yards of the Real, he set fire to the funnels. The ship was immediately in flames, in  
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the midst of which he and his lieutenant, with twelve men, perished. This was likewise the fate of a Spanish launch, which had been manned with fifty sailors to prevent the fire-ship from running on board the Real. One ship of the line belonging to the Spanish squadron, struck to captain, Hawke, who sent a lieutenant to take possession of her: she was afterwards retaken by the French squadron; but was found so disabled, that they left her deserted, and she was next day burned by the order of admiral Matthews. At night the action ceased; and the admiral found his own ship so much damaged, that he moved his flag into another. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward, and the admiral gave chase till night; when he brought to that he might be joined by the ships astern. They were perceived again on the thirteenth at a considerable distance, and pursued till the evening. In the morning of the fourteenth, twenty sail of them were seen distinctly, and Lestock with his division had gained ground of them considerably, by noon; but admiral Matthews displayed the signal for leaving off chase, and bore away for Port-mahon, to repair the damage he had sustained. Mean while the combined squadrons continued their course towards the coast of Spain. M. de Court, with his division, anchored in the road of Alicant

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the midst of which he and his lieutenant, with twelve men, perished. This was likewise the fate of a Spanish launch, which had been manned with fifty sailors to prevent the fire-ship from running on board the Real. One ship of the line belonging to the Spanish squadron, struck to captain, Hawke, who sent a lieutenant to take possession of her: she was afterwards retaken by the French squadron; but was found so disabled, that they left her deserted, and she was next day burned by the order of admiral Matthews. At night the action ceased; and the admiral found his own ship so much damaged, that he moved his flag into another. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward, and the admiral gave chase till night; when he brought to that he might be joined by the ships astern. They were perceived again on the thirteenth at a considerable distance, and pursued till the evening. In the morning of the fourteenth, twenty sail of them were seen distinctly, and Lestock with his division had gained ground of them considerably, by noon; but admiral Matthews displayed the signal for leaving off chase, and bore away for Port-mahon, to repair the damage he had sustained. Mean while the combined squadrons continued their course towards the coast of Spain. M. de Court, with his division, anchored in the road of Alicant

Alicant, and don Navarro sailed into the harbour of Carthagena. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accused Lestock of having misbehaved on the day of action; suspended him from his office, and sent him prisoner to England, where, in his turn, he accused his accuser. †

After the action at Toulon nothing of consequence was achieved by the British squadron in the Mediterranean; the naval power of Great Britain continuing all the summer, quite inactive. In the month of June, commodore Anson returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, in which he had surrounded the terraqueous globe. We have formerly observed, that he sailed with a small squadron to the South Sea, in order to annoy the Spanish settlements of Chili and

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† The miscarriage off Toulon became the subject of a parliamentary inquiry in England. The commons in an address to the throne, desired that a court martial might be appointed to try the delinquents. The court martial was constituted, and proceeded to trial. Several commanders of ships were cashiered: vice admiral Lestock was honorably acquitted, and admiral Matthews rendered incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy. Yet all the world knew that Lestock kept aloof, and that Matthews rushed into the hottest part of the engagement.

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Peru, Two of his large ships having been separated from him in a storm before he weathered Cape-Horn, and put in at Rio de Janeiro, on the coast of Brasil, from whence they returned to Europe. A frigate, commanded by captain Cheap, was shipwrecked on a desolate island in the South-Sea. Mr. Anson having undergone a dreadful tempest, which dispersed his fleet, arrived at the island of Juan Fernandes, where he was joined by the Gloucester a ship of the line, a sloop, and a pink loaded with provisions. These were the remains of his squadrons. He made prize of several vessels; took and burned the little town of Payta, set sail from the coast of Mexico for the Philippine isles; and in this passage the Gloucester was abandoned and sunk: the other vessels had been destroyed, for want of men to navigate them; so that nothing now remained but the commodore's own ship the Centurion, and that but indifferently manned; for, the crews had been horribly thinned by sickness. Incredible were the hardships and misery they sustained from the shattered condition of the ships, and the scorbutic disorder, when they reached the plentiful island of Tinian, where they were supplied with the necessary refreshments. Thence they prosecuted their voyage to the river of Canton in China, where the commodore ordered the ship to be sheathed, and found means to procure a reinforcement of

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sailors. The chief object of his attention was the rich annual ship that sails between Acapulco in Mexico, and Manilla one of the Philippine islands. In hope of intercepting her, he set sail from Canton, and steered his course back to the streights of Manilla, where she actually fell into his hands, after a short but vigorous engagement. The prize was called Nuestra Señora de Cabadonga, mounted with forty guns, manned with six hundred sailors, and loaded with treasure and effects to the value of three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling: with this wind-fall, he returned to Canton, from whence he proceeded to the Cape of Good-hope, and prosecuted his voyage to England, where he arrived in safety.

In January, the earl of Chesterfield set out for the Hague, with the character of ambassador-extraordinary, to persuade, if possible, the States-general to engage heartily in the war. About the same time, a treaty of quadruple alliance was signed at Warsaw, by the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the maritime powers.

The death of the emperor Charles VII. which happened in the same month of January had entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire, and all the princes of Germany were in commotion. The grand duke of Tuscany, consort to her Hungarian majesty, was immediately declared a candidate for the Imperial



rial crown : while his pretensions were warmly opposed by the French king and his allies.

The court of Vienna had now secured the votes of all the electors, except those of Brandenburg and the Palatinate. Nevertheless, France assembled a powerful army in the neighbourhood of Franckfort, in order to influence the election. But the Austrian army, commanded by the grand duke in person, marched thither from the Danube ; and the prince of Conti was obliged to repass the Rhine at Nordlingen. Then the great duke repaired to Franckfort ; where, on the second day of September, he was, by a majority of voices, declared king of the Romans, and emperor of Germany.

Though the French king could not prevent the elevation of the grand duke to the Imperial throne, he resolved to humble the house of Austria, by making a conquest of the Netherlands. A prodigious army was there assembled under the auspices of marechal count de Saxe ; and his most christian majesty, with the dauphin, arriving in the camp, they invested the strong town of Tournay on the thirtieth of April ; while the allied army of the English, Austrians, Hanoverians, and Dutch, were not able to prevent his operations. Tournay was the strongest place of the whole barrier : the town and citadel were one of Vauban's master pieces ; for there was not a place

place of any strength in Flanders, whose fortifications had not been built by Lewis XIV.

The people of Tournay were fond of the French government, not so much because their town is part of the antient patrimony of the kings of France, as out of regard to their own advantage; they preferred the French magnificence which enriches a country, to the Dutch œconomy, which keeps it low. But the inclination of the inhabitants is seldom minded in fortified towns: they are no way concerned either in the attack or in the defence of those places; they are transferred from one sovereign to another by capitulations, which are made for them without asking their advice.

In the beginning of the siege of Tournay, happened one of those events, where the inevitable fatality which determines life and death, appeared as it were in the most conspicuous characters. The count de Talleyrand, colonel of the regiment of Normandy, had mounted the trenches under the orders of the duke de Biron; here a cavalier \* was erected, near which they had placed a cask of gun powder. In the night the duke de Biron laid himself down upon a bearskin near M. de Talleyrand; when he recollected that he had

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\* A kind of high platform to plant great guns upon.

promised

promised to spend part of the night with M. de Meuse. He resolves to go, notwithstanding that M. de Talleyrand does all he can to dissuade him. No sooner was he gone than a soldier trying the prime of his fusil, lets a spark fall upon the cask of gunpowder: instantly the cavalier flies up into the air, and M. de Talleyrand is blown up with twenty four soldiers, whose limbs quite torn and shattered are dispersed on every side: part of the body of M. Talleyrand was thrown to the distance of above thirty fathom. But an accident of this kind tho' never so fatal, is confounded, in time of war, in the multitude of human calamities, which from our being too much surrounded by them, escape our attention. The garrison of Tournay beholding this unlucking accident, insulted the French, reviling them with the most injurious language. Upon which a few companies of grenadiers, unable to contain their indignation, answered them not by opprobrious speeches, but by leaping out of the trenches, and running upon the glacis of the covert-way, though the regular approaches for attacking it were not yet finished: they descend without order without preparation, or even without officers, upon the covert-way, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy's artillery and their small shot, and maintain themselves boldly till the round came by, though exposed on every side. The duke de Biron who commanded  
the

the trenches, hearing of this action, which the nature of the provocation and the ardour of the troops rendered in some measure excusable, immediately orders gabions to be brought, makes epaulèments, and lodges those brave fellows on the covert-way, which they had so resolutely carried.

As soon as the states general were informed that Tournay was in danger, they sent word to the commander of their troops that he must venture a battle to relieve the town. Notwithstanding the circumspection of those republicans, they were the first of the allies at that time who took vigorous resolutions.

The fifth of May, the enemy advanced to Cambron, within seven leagues of Tournay. The king set out the 6th from Paris, with the dauphin; the king was attended by his aide-camps, and the dauphin by his minions.

The inhabitants of Paris who had been so near losing their king the foregoing year, felt a return of their pain, upon seeing both the father and the son set out for Flanders, to expose themselves to the uncertain issue of a battle, the French had made no entrenchments as yet before Tournay in the lines of circumvallation: they had no army of observation: nor were the twenty battalions and forty squadrons, which had been draughted from the army commanded by the prince of Conti, as yet arrived.

But



But notwithstanding the unealiness they were under at Paris, it must be allowed that the king's army was considerably superior to that of the allies. In several printed relations it is said to have been weaker. Historical exactness obliges me † to acknowledge that it was stronger by sixty battalions and eighty two squadrons. For the French had a hundred and six battalions, reckoning the militia; and a hundred and seventy two squadrons: whereas the allies had only forty six battalions and ninety squadrons.

True it is that the day of the engagement the French did not avail themselves entirely of this advantage. Part of the troops were not yet arrived; there was also a necessity for leaving some to guard the trenches of Tournay and for the bridges of communication: but still the superiority was on the side of France. And it is no less true that this advantage was not of any consequence in so confined a ground as that of the field of battle; besides it happens very seldom that victory is owing to numbers. The chief strength of the enemy's army consisted in twenty battalions and twenty six squadrons of English, under the young duke of Cumberland, who in company with the king his father, had gained the battle of Dettingen. The English were joined by five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverian troops. The prince of Waldeck.

† Voltaire, Hist. of this war.

of the same age very near as the duke of Cumberland, like him full of ardour, and impatient to signalize himself, was at the head of the Dutch forces, consisting of forty squadrons and twenty six battalions. In this army the Austrians had only eight squadrons: the allies were fighting their cause in Flanders, a country that has been long defended by the arms and treasure of England and Holland. But at the head of this small number of Austrians was old general Konigseg, who had commanded against the Turks in Hungary, and against the French in Italy and in Germany: it was intended that his years and experience should be a check to the youthful ardour of the duke of Cumberland, and of prince Waldeck. The whole allied army was upwards of fifty thousand combatants.

The king left about eighteen thousand men before Tournay, who were posted at gradual distances from the field of battle; besides six thousand to guard the bridges on the Scheld, and the communications. The army was commanded by a general, in whom they had the greatest confidence. Count Saxe had made the art of war his constant study, even in time of peace: besides a profound theory he had great practical knowledge: in short, vigilance, secrecy, the art of knowing properly when to postpone and when to execute a project, to see things at one glance, presence of mind and foresight, were abilities allowed him by con-

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sent of all military people. But at that time this general was wasting away with a lingering disorder, and almost at death's door when he left Paris. The author \* of these memoirs happening to meet him before he set out for Flanders, could not forbear asking him, how he could think of taking the field in that feeble condition? the marshal answered: "It is not time now to think of living but of departing."

The 6th of May the king arrived at Dowsay: just as he was going to bed, he received a courier from the marshal, who informed him that the enemy's army was approaching, and that they should be quickly in sight of each other. "Gentlemen, said the king to his aid-de-camps and to his officers, there shall be no time lost; I set out to-morrow morning at five o'clock; but do not disturb the dauphin."

The next day the king arrived at Pont-a-Chin near the Scheld, within reach of the trenches of Tournay. The dauphin, who had been apprised, was there in time; and attended the king, when he went to reconnoitre the ground designed for the field of battle. The whole army, upon seeing the king and the dauphin, made the air resound with acclamations of joy. The enemy spent the tenth and the night of the eleventh in ma-

king their last dispositions. Never did the king express greater chearfulness than before the engagement. The conversation turned upon the battles at which the kings of France had been present : the king said, that since the battle of Potiers, never a king of France had his son with him in an engagement ; that none of them had ever gained a signal victory over the English : and he hoped to be the first.

The day the battle was fought, he waked the first : at four o'clock he himself awakened count d'Argenson secretary at war, who that very instant sent to marshal Saxe to know his last orders. They found the marshal in a wicker vehicle, which served him as a bed; he was carried about in it, when his strength came to be so exhausted as he could no longer ride on horseback. The king and the dauphin had already passed the bridge of Calonne. The marshal told the officer sent by count d'Argenson, that the king's guards must come forward, for he had fixed their post in the reserve with the carabineers, as a sure resource. This was a new method of posting troops, whom the enemy consider as the flower of an army. But he added, that the guards should not be ordered to advance, till the king and the dauphin had repassed the bridge. The marshal, as a foreigner, was very sensible how much less it became him than any other general, to expose two such precious lives, to the uncertain issue of a battle. The officer, to whom he



he had made these answers, was loth to repeat them to the king; but this prince, apprised of the marshal's directions, said, "let my guards advance this very moment; for I will not repass the bridge." Soon after he went and took post beyond the place called The Justice of our Lady in the wood. For his guard he would have only a squadron of a hundred and twenty men of the company of Charot, one gendarm, a light-horse-man, and a musquetteer. Marshal Noailles kept near his majesty, as did also the count d'Argenson; the aid-de-camps were the same as the preceeding year. The duke de Villeroy was also about his person, as captain of the guards; and the dauphin had his minions near him.

The king and the dauphin's retinues which composed a numerous troop, were followed by a multitude of persons of all ranks, whom curiosity had brought to this place, some of whom were mounted even on the tops of trees to behold the spectacle of a bloody engagement.

The assistance of engraving is absolutely necessary to a person that has a mind to form to himself a clear and distinct image of this action. The ancients, who were strangers to this art, could leave us but imperfect notions of the situation and motion of their armies: but to have an adequate knowledge of such

such a day; researches still more difficult, are necessary. No one officer can see every thing: a great many behold with eyes of prepossession; and there are some that are very short sighted. There is a good deal in having consulted the papers of the war office, and especially in getting instruction from the generals and the aid-de-camps: but it is requisite moreover to speak to the commanding officers of the different corps, and to compare their relations, in order to mention only those facts in which they agree.

All these precautions have I taken † for the obtaining a thorough information of the detail of a battle, of which even the least particulars must be interesting to the whole nation. Casting an eye upon the plan, you perceive at one glance the disposition of the two armies. You see Antoin pretty near the Scheld, within nine hundred fathom of Fontenoy; from thence, drawing towards the North, is a piece of ground four hundred and fifty fathom broad betwixt the woods of Barri and of Fontenoy. In this plan you see the dispositions of the brigades, the generals that commanded them, with what art they prepared against the efforts of the enemy near the Scheld and Antoin, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoy, in those villages lined with troops and artillery, on the ground which separates Fontenoy from the woods of

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† Voltaire.

Barri, and finally on the left towards Reme-  
croix, where the enemy might advance by  
fetching the compass of the woods.

The general had made provisions for a vic-  
tory, and against a defeat. The bridge of  
Calonne lined with cannon, strengthened  
with entrenchments, and defended by a bat-  
talion of guards, another of Swiss, and three  
of militia, was to facilitate the retreat of the  
king and of the dauphin in case of any unlucky  
accident. The remainder of the army was  
to have been filed off at the same time over  
the other bridges on the lower Scheld in the  
neighbourhood of Tournay.

Notwithstanding all these measures, so  
well concerted as to support each other with-  
out the least clashing, there happened one  
mistake, which had it not been rectified, might  
have occasioned the loss of the day. The eve-  
ning preceding the battle, the general was  
told, that there was a hollow way, deep and  
impracticable, which extended without dis-  
continuance from Antoin to Fontenoy, and  
would secure the army on that side. Weak  
as he was, he reconnoitred a part of this hol-  
low way himself; and they assured him that  
the remainder was still more inaccessible. He  
made his dispositions accordingly: but this  
ground which was very deep near Fontenoy  
and Antoin, was quite level betwixt those  
two villages. This circumstance so trivial in  
other cases, was here of the utmost conse-  
quence; for the army might have been taken  
in

in flank. The marshal having been better informed by the quarter-master M. de Cremille, caused three redoubts to be hastily erected in this same spot betwixt the villages. Marshal Noailles directed the works in the night, and joined Fontenoy to the first redoubt by an earthen redan: the three redoubts were furnished with three batteries of cannon, one of eight pieces, the other two of four; they were called the redoubts of Bettens, from being defended by the Swiss regiment of Bettens with that of Diesbach. Beside these precautions they had likewise planted sixteen pounders on this side the Scheld, to gail the troops that should attack the village of Antoin.

We must particularly observe that there was a piece of ground of about four hundred and fifty fathom, which had a gentle ascent betwixt the woods of Barri and Fontenoy. As the enemy might penetrate this way, the general took care to erect at the verge of the woods of Barri, a strong redoubt, where the guns were fixed in embrasures: here the marquis de Chambona commanded a battalion of the regiment of Eu. The cannon of this redoubt, with those which were planted to the left side of Fontenoy, formed a cross-fire sufficient one would imagine, to stop the efforts of the most intrepid enemy.

If the English should have attempted to pass through the wood of Baral, they would have

not been able to do so. met



met with another redoubt furnished with cannon; if they made a greater circuit, they had entrenchments to force, and must have been exposed to the fire of two batteries on the high road leading to Leuze. Thus did marshal Saxe on every side make the most advantage of the ground.

With respect to the position of the troops, beginning from the bridge of Vaux, which after the battle was called the bridge of Cambronne, there was no one part left naked. The counts de la Marck and de Lorges were entrusted with the post of Anton: where were six battalions of Piedmont and Biron, with six cannon at the head of those regiments.

The marquis de Crillon was posted with his regiment hard by the redoubt nearest Antoin; on the left he had dragoons to support him.

The village of Fontenoy was committed to the care of the count de la Vauguion, who had under him the son of the marquis de Meuze-Choiseul with the regiment of Dauphin, of which this young man, who is since dead, was colonel. The duke de Biron, lieutenant-general, was at the head of the king's regiment, which he then commanded, close to the village of Fontenoy. On his left was the viscount d'Aubeterre, and the regiment of his name.

Very near upon the same line the general had placed four battalions of French guards,

two

two of Swiss and the regiment of Courtin on the ground extending from Fontenoy to the wood of Barri.

About two hundred fathom behind them were fifty two squadrons of horse: the duke d'Harcourt, the count d'Estrees, and the count de Penthievre, were lieutenant generals of this first line. M. de Clermont-Gallerande du Cheila, and d'Apcher, commanded the second; and between these lines of cavalry, in the morning the general placed the regiments of la Couronne, Hainault, Sorsons, and Royal.

On the left was the Irish brigade, under the command of my lord Clare, in a little plain of about one hundred paces. Further on was the regiment of Vaisseaux, of which the marquis de Guerchi was then colonel: betwixt these brigades were M. de Clermont-Tonnere, and the prince de Pons, of the house of Lorrain, at the head of the brigade of cavalry of Royal-Roussillon.

The king's household and the carabineers were in the corps de reserve. This was a new practice of marshal Saxe, recommended by the chevalier Folard, to secrete from the enemy's view those troops which are most famed for bravery, against whom they generally direct the flower of their forces.

These dispositions being all made, or upon the point of being made, in silence they waited for the break of day. At four in the morning

morning, marshal Saxe, attended by his aide-de-camps, and by the principal officers, went to visit all the posts. The Dutch who were already forming, kept continually firing at these officers; which the marshal perceiving, said, "gentlemen, there will be no occasion for your lives to day:" he made them dismount and walked a long time through this hollow way, of which we have already made mention. The fatigue exhausted his strength and increased his illness; finding himself grow weaker he got into his wicker vehicle again, where he rested for some little time. At break of day count d'Argenson went to see whether the artillery of the redoubts and villages was in good order, and whether the field pieces were all arrived. They were to have a hundred pieces of cannon, and they had only sixty. Here the presence and directions of the minister were necessary: he gave orders for them to bring the forty pieces that were wanting: but in the tumult and hurry almost unavoidable on such an occasion, they forgot to bring the number of balls which such artillery required. The field pieces were four pounders, and drawn by soldiers; the cannon in the villages and the redoubts, as also those planted on this side the Scheld against the Dutch, were from four to sixteen pounders. Two battalions belonging to the ordinance were distributed in Antoin, Fontenoy, and the

the redoubts, under the direction of M. Brocard, lieutenant-general of the artillery.

The enemy had eighty-one cannon and eight mortars. Their field-pieces were three pounders; they were what we used formerly to call fauconets; their length is about four feet and an half; their ordinary charge is about two pounds of powder, and they carry two hundred and fifty fathoms at full shot. There were some that carried only balls of a pound and an half.

The cannonading began on both sides, marshal Saxe told marshal Noailles, that here the enemy would stop: he supposed them to have formed a deeper design than they really had, imagining they would do just what he would have done in their place; that they would keep the French army in awe, and in continual alarm; by which means they might retard, and perhaps absolutely prevent, the taking of Tournay: and indeed they were posted in such a manner, that they could not be attacked with advantage; while, at the same time, they had it in their power constantly to harass the besieging army. This was the opinion of the old general Konigseg; but the duke of Cumberland's courage was too warm, and the confidence of the English too great, to listen to advice.

At the time they began to cannonade, marshal Noailles was near to Fontenoi, and gave an account to marshal Saxe of the work



he had done the beginning of the night in joining the village of Fontenoi to the first of the three redoubts betwixt Fontenoi and Antoin: he acted as his first aid-de-camp, thus sacrificing the jealousy of command to the good of the state, and forgetting his own rank to yield the precedency to a general who was not only a foreigner but younger in commission than himself. Marshal Saxe was perfectly sensible of the real value of this magnanimity; and never was there so perfect a harmony betwixt two men, who, from the ordinary weakness of the human heart, should naturally have been at variance.

At this very moment the duke of Grammont came up; when marshal Noailles said to him, "Nephew, we should embrace one another on the day of battle, perhaps we shall not see one another again." Accordingly they embraced each other most tenderly; and then marshal Noailles went to give the king an account of the several posts which he had visited.

The duke of Grammont met count Lowendahl, who advanced with him within a very little distance of the first redoubt of the wood of Barri, opposite to an English battery. Here a cannon-ball of three pound weight struck the duke of Grammont's horse, and covered count Lowendahl with blood; a piece of flesh which flew off with the shot fell into his boot. "Have a care," says he

to

*The wars of England during*  
 to the duke of Grammont; "your horse is  
 killed:" "and I too," answered the duke.  
 The upper part of his thigh was shattered by  
 the ball, and he was carried off the field.  
 When M. de Peyronie met him upon the road  
 to Fontenoi, he was dead. The surgeon made  
 a report of it to the king, who cried out with  
 concern, "Ah! we shall lose a great many  
 more to day."

The cannonading continued on both sides  
 till eight in the morning with great vivacity,  
 without the enemy's seeming to have formed  
 any settled plan. Towards seven, the English  
 encompassed the whole ground of the village  
 of Fontenoi, and attacked it on every side.  
 They flung bombs into it, one of which fell  
 just before marshal Saxe, who was then speak-  
 ing to count Lowendahl.

The Dutch afterwards advanced towards  
 Antoin, and the two attacks were equally  
 well supported. The count de Vanguion,  
 who commanded in Fontenoi, with the  
 young count de Meuze under him, constant-  
 ly repulsed the English. He had made en-  
 trenchments in the village, and enjoined the  
 regiment of Dauphin not to fire but accord-  
 ing to his orders. He was well obeyed; for  
 the soldiers did not fire till they were almost  
 muzzle to muzzle and sure of their mark:  
 at each discharge they made the air resound  
 with Vive le Roi. The count de la Marck,  
 with the count de Lorges, in Antoin, em-  
 ployed

ployed the Dutch, both horse and foot. The marquis de Chambonas also repulsed the enemy in the several attacks of the redoubt of Eu.

The English presented themselves thrice before Fontenoi, and the Dutch twice before Antoin. At their second attack almost a whole Dutch squadron was swept away by the cannon of Antoin, and only fifteen left; from which time the Dutch continued to act but very feintly, and at a distance.

The king was at that time along with the dauphin, near The Justice of our Lady in the Wood, against which the English played very briskly with their cannon. Even the small musket-shot reached thus far; a domestic of count d'Argenson having been wounded on the forehead by a musket-ball, a good way behind the king.

From this position, which was equally distant from the several corps, the king observed every thing with great attention. He was the first that perceived, that, as the enemy attacked Antoin and Fontenoi, and seemed to bend their whole strength on that side, it would be of no use to leave the regiments of Normandy, Auvergne, and Tourraine, towards Ramecroix; he therefore caused Normandy to advance near the Irish, and put Auvergne and Tourraine further behind. But he did not change this disposition till he had asked the general's advice, entirely solicitous about

about the success of the day, never presuming on his own opinion, and declaring, that he was come to the army only for his own and for his son's instruction.

Then he advanced towards the side of Antoin, at the very time that the Dutch were moving forward to make their second attack: the cannon-balls fell round him and the dauphin; and an officer, named M. d'Arbaud, afterwards colonel, was covered with dirt from the rebounding of a ball. The French have the character of gaiety even in the midst of danger: the king and those about him, finding themselves daubed by the dirt thrown up by this shot, fell a laughing. The king made them pick up the balls, and said to M. de Chabrier, major of the artillery, "Send these balls back to the enemy, I will have nothing belonging to them."

He afterwards returned to his former post, and, with surprise, observed, that most of the balls that were then fired towards the woods of Barri, from the English batteries, fell upon the regiment of Royal-Rouffillon, which did not make the least movement, whereby he could form any remark either upon its danger or its losses.

The enemy's attack, till ten or eleven o'clock, was no more than what marshal Saxe had foreseen. They kept firing, to no manner of purpose, upon the villages and the redoubts. Towards ten, the duke took the resolu-



resolution of forcing his way betwixt the redoubt of the woods of Barri and of Fontenoi. In this attempt he had a deep hollow-way to pass, exposed to the cannon of the redoubt, and on the other side of the hollow-way he had the French army to fight. The enterprize seemed temerarious. The duke of Cumberland took this resolution only because an officer, whose name was Ingolsby, whom he commanded to attack the redoubt of Eu, did not execute his orders. Had he made himself master of that redoubt, he might have easily, and without loss, brought his whole army forward, protected even by the cannon of the redoubt, which he would have turned against the French. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, the English advanced through the hollow-way. They passed it almost without disordering their ranks, dragging their cannon through the bye-ways; they formed upon three lines pretty close, each of them four deep, advancing betwixt the batteries of cannon, which galled them most terribly, the ground not being above four hundred fathom in breadth. Whole ranks dropped down to the right and left; but they were instantly filled up; and the cannon, which they brought up against Fontenoi and the redoubts, answered the French artillery. Thus they marched boldly on, preceded by six field-pieces, with six more in the middle of their lines.

Opposite

Opposite to them were four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiss guards at their left, the regiment of Courton to their right, next to them the regiment of Aubeterre, and further on the king's regiment, which lined Fontenoi the length of the hollow-way.

From that part where the French guards were posted, to where the English were forming, it was a rising-ground.

The officers of the French guards said to one another, "We must go and take the English cannon." Accordingly they ascended soon to the top with their grenadiers; but, when they got there, great was their surprise to find a whole army before them. The enemy's cannon and small shot brought very near sixty of them to the ground, and the remainder were obliged to return to their ranks.

In the mean time the English advanced, and this line of infantry, composed of the French and Swiss guards and of Courten, having upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre, and a battalion of the king's, drew near the enemy; the regiment of the English guards was at the distance of fifty paces. Campbell's and the Royal Scotch were the first: Mr. Campbell was their lieutenant-general; my lord Albemarle their major-general: and Mr. Churchill, a natural son of the famous duke of Marlborough, their brigadeer.

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The English officers saluted the French by taking off their hats. The count de Chabannes and the duke de Biron advanced forward, and returned the compliment. My lord Charles Hay, captain of the English guards, cried out, "gentlemen of the French guards, give fire."

The count d'Antroche, then lieutenant and since captain of grenadiers, made answer with a loud voice, "gentlemen, we never fire first; fire you first. Then the captain said to his men, in English, fire. The English made a running fire, that is, they fired in divisions in this manner, that when the front of a battalion, four deep, had fired, another battalion made its discharge, and then a third, while the first were loading again. The line of French infantry did not fire; it was single, and four deep, the ranks pretty distant, and not at all supported by any other body of infantry. It was impossible but their eyes must have been surprised at the depth of the English corps, and their ears stunned with the continual fire. Nineteen officers of the guards were wounded at this first discharge; Messieurs de Clifson, de Langey, and de la Peyrere, lost their lives. Ninety five soldiers were killed upon the spot; two hundred and eighty five were wounded: eleven Swiss officers were wounded, as also one hundred and forty five of their common men, and sixty four were killed. Colonel de Courten, his lieutenant

colonel, four officers, and seventy-five soldiers, dropped down dead; fourteen officers and two hundred soldiers were dangerously wounded. The first rank being thus swept away, the other three looked behind them, and, seeing only some cavalry at the distance of above three hundred fathom, they dispersed. The duke of Grammont, their colonel and first lieutenant-general, whose presence would have encouraged them, was dead; and M. de Luttaux, second lieutenant-general, did not come up till they were routed. The English, in the mean time, advanced gradually, as if they were performing their exercise; one might see the majors holding their canes upon upon the soldiers muskets, to make them fire low and straight.

Thus the English pierced beyond Fontenoi and the redoubt. This corps, which before was drawn up in three lines, being now streitened by the nature of the ground, became a long solid column, unshaken from its weight, and still more so from its courage. It advanced towards the regiment of Aubertterre: and, at the news of this danger, M. de Luttaux made all haste from Fontenoi, where he had been dangerously wounded. His aid-de-camp begged of him to begin with having his wound dressed: "The king's service," answered M. de Luttaux, "is more dear to me than life."



He advanced with the duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubeterre, led by the colonel of that name; but, on coming up, he received two mortal wounds. At this same discharge, M. de Biron had a horse killed under him; a hundred soldiers of Aubeterre were killed, and two hundred wounded. The duke de Biron, with the king's regiment, stops the march of the column on its left flank; upon which the regiment of English guards, detaching itself from the rest, advances some paces towards him, kills three of his captains, and wounds fifteen captains and twelve lieutenants; at the same time, two hundred and sixty-six soldiers were killed, and seventy-nine wounded.

The regiment de la Couronne, perceiving itself placed a little behind the king's, presents itself before the English column; but its colonel the duke de Havre, the lieutenant-colonel, all the staff-officers, and, in short, thirty-seven officers are wounded, so as to be obliged to quit the field; and the first rank of the soldiers, to the number of two hundred and sixty, is overthrown.

The regiment of Souiffonnois, advancing after la Couronne, had fourteen officers wounded, and lost one hundred and thirty soldiers.

The regiment of Royal, which was then with la Couronne, lost more than any other corps at these discharges: six of its officers,

one hundred and thirty-six soldiers, were killed; thirty-two officers, and five hundred and nine soldiers, were wounded.

The English, who were advancing towards the king's regiment, might attack Fontenoi in reverse, while they were cannonading it on the other side, and then the battle would have been inevitably lost. The duke de Biron, having placed some grenadiers in this hollow-way, which lined Fontenoi, rallied his regiment, and made a brisk discharge upon the English, which obliged them to halt. One might see the king's regiment, with those of la Couronne and Aubeterre, entrenched behind the heaps of their comrades, who were either killed or wounded.

In the mean time, two battalions of French and Swiss guards were getting off by different roads, across the lines of cavalry, which were above two hundred fathom behind them. The officers, who rallied them, met M. de Lut-teaux, first lieutenant-general of the army, who was returning, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoi. "Ah, gentlemen," said he, "do not rally me, I am wounded and obliged to retire." He died some time after in unspeakable torments. Before he retired, he said to the soldiers he met belonging to the regiment of guards, "My friends, go and join your comrades that are guarding the bridge of Ca-lonne."

Others hurried through a little bottom, which goes from Barri to Our Lady in the Wood, up to the very place where the king had taken post, opposite the wood of Barri, near la Justice. Their grenadiers, and the remainder of the two battalions, rallied under the count de Chabannes towards the redoubt of Eu, and there stood firm with M. de la Sonne, who formed it into one battalion, of which he took the command, because, tho' young, he was the oldest captain, the rest having been either killed or wounded.

The English column kept firm and close, was continually gaining ground. Marshal Saxe, with all the coolness imaginable, seeing how dubious the affair was, sent word to the king, by the marquis de Meuze, that he begged of him to repass the bridge, along with the dauphin, and he would do all he could to repair the disorder. "Oh! I am very sure he will do what is proper," answered the king, "but I will stay where I am." This prince was every moment sending his aid-de-camps from brigade to brigade and from post to post. Each set out with two pages of the stables, whom he sent back successively to the king, and afterwards returned to give an account himself.

The order of battle was no longer the same it had been in the beginning: of the first line of cavalry not above the half was left. The division of count d'Estrees was

near Antom, under the duke of Harcourt, making head with its dragoons and with Crillon, against the Duch, who, it was apprehended, might penetrate on that side, while the English, on the other, were beginning to be victorious: the other half of this first line, which was naturally the duke of Harcourt's division, remained under the command of the count d'Estrees. This line vigorously attacked the English. M. de Fienne led his regiment, M. de Cernay the croats, the duke of Fitz-James the regiment called after his name; but little did the efforts of this cavalry avail against a solid body of infantry, so compact, so well disciplined, and so intrepid, whose running fire, regularly supported, must of course disperse all those small detached bodies, which successively presented themselves: besides, it is a known thing, that cavalry alone can very seldom make any impression upon a close and compact infantry.

Marshall Saxe was in the midst of this fire; his illness not permitting him to wear a cuirass, he had a kind of buckler, made of several folds of stitched taffety, which he carried on his saddle-bow. He put on his buckler, and rode up with full speed to give directions for the second line of cavalry to advance against the column. The count de Noailles marched directly with his brigade, composed of the regiment of his name, of which



which, the eldest of the family is always colonel; the only privilege of the kind in France, and granted to the first marshal of the name of Noailles, who raised this regiment at his own expence. The regiment belonging to the duke de Penthievre made also a part of this brigade. The count de Noailles fell on with great bravery; the marquis de Vignacourt, captain in this regiment, the worthy descendant of a family which has given three grand masters to the order of Malta, rushes with his squadron to attack this column in flank; but the squadron was cut in pieces in the midst of the enemy's ranks, except fourteen troopers, who forced their way through, with M. de Vignacourt. An English soldier drove his bayonet with such violence into this officer's leg, quite through the boot, that he was obliged to leave both bayonet and fusil: the horse having received several wounds ran away with his master; while the butt-end of the musket trailing on the ground, widened and tore the wound, of which the captain died a little while after. Out of fourteen troopers who had broke through the column, six remained, who were soon made prisoners; but the English sent them back the next day, out of regard to their bravery.

The count d'Argenson, son of the secretary at war, charged the enemy with his regiment of Berri, at the same time that the

regiment of Fiennes was also advancing. He came on to the attack three times, at the head of a single squadron; and, upon a false report, his father thought him killed. The count de Bironne, the chevalier de Brancas, the marquis de Chabillant, headed and rallied their troopers; but all these corps were repulsed one after the other. The count de Clermont Tonnere, master de camp of the cavalry, the count d'Estrees, and the marquis de Croiffi, were every where: all the general officers kept riding from brigade to brigade. The regiments of the colonel general, and Fiennes, with the croats, suffered greatly: that of prince Clermont was still more roughly handled, twenty-two of their officers having been wounded, and of the croats twelve. All the staff officers were in motion: M. de Vaudreuill, major-general of the army, rode every minute from right to left. M. de Puisefer, messieurs de saint Sauveur, de saint Georges, de Mezieres, aid quarter-masters, were all wounded. The count de Longaunai, aid-major-general, received a wound of which he died a few days after.

It was in these attacks that the chevalier d'Apcher, a lieutenant-general (whose name is pronounced d'Aché) had his foot shattered by a ball. Towards the end of the battle, he came to give an account to the king, and spoke a long while to his majesty, without expressing the least sign of pain, till at length

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the violence of the anguish obliged him to retire.

The more the English column advanced, the deeper it became, and of course the better able to repair the continual losses which it must have sustained from so many repeated attacks. It still marched on, close and compact, over the bodies of the dead and wounded on both sides, seeming to form one single corps of about sixteen thousand men, though it was then in three divisions.

A great number of troopers were driven back in disorder as far as the very place where the king was posted with his son; so that these two princes were separated by the crowd that came tumbling upon them. The king did not change colour; he was concerned, but shewed neither anger nor inquietude. Happening to observe about two hundred troopers scattered behind him, towards Our Lady of the Wood, he said to a light horseman, "Go and rally those men in my name, and bring them back. The light horseman galloped and brought them back against the enemy. This man, whose name was de Jouy, did not imagine he had done any great feat; the minister inquired after him a long while, to reward him, before he could be found. During this disorder, the brigades of the life-guards, who were in reserve, advanced of themselves against the enemy. Here the chevaliers de Suze and de

were mortally wounded. Four squadrons of gendarmes arrived at this very instant from Doway, and, notwithstanding the fatigue of a march of seven leagues, they immediately engaged the enemy; but all these corps were received like the rest, with the same intrepidity, and the same running fire. The young count de Chevrier, a guidon, was killed, and it happened to be the very same day that he was admitted into his troop. The chevalier de Monaco, son of the duke de Valentinois, had his leg pierced through. M. du Guesclin received a wound on the foot. The carabineers charged the enemy, but had six officers killed, and twenty-one wounded. All these attacks were made without any concert or agreement, and are what we call irregular charges, in which all the bravery in the world is of no manner of use against discipline and order.

Marshal Saxe, though extremely weakened with the fatigue, was still on horseback, riding gently in the midst of the fire: he passed close under the front of the English column, to observe every thing that passed towards the left, near the wood of Barri. There they were going on in the very same manner as towards the right; endeavouring, but in vain, to throw the column into disorder. The French regiments presented themselves one after the other; while the English, facing about on every side, properly



perly placing their cannon, and always firing in divisions, kept up this running and constant fire when they were attacked; after the attack they remained immoveable, and ceased to fire. The marshal perceiving a French regiment at that time engaged with the enemy, and of which whole ranks dropped down, while the regiment never stirred, asked what corps that was; they told him it was the regiment de Vaisseaux, commanded by M. de Guerchi; he then cried out, "Admirable indeed!" Thirty-two officers of this regiment were wounded, one third of the soldiers killed or wounded. The regiment of Hainault did not suffer less: their colonel was the son of the prince de Craon, governor of Tuscany: the father served the enemy, and his sons the king. This hopeful youth was killed at the head of his troop; near him the lieutenant-colonel was mortally wounded; nineteen officers of this corps were dangerously wounded, and two hundred and fifty soldiers lay dead upon the spot.

The regiment of Normandy advanced; but they had as many officers and soldiers wounded as that of Hainault: they were headed by their lieutenant-colonel M. de Solenci, whose bravery the king commended on the field of battle, and afterwards rewarded, by making him a brigadier. Some Irish battalions fell next upon the flank of this column: colonel Dillon was killed, fifty-

fifty-six officers were wounded, and thirteen fell upon the spot.

Marshal Saxe then returns by the front of the column, which had advanced three hundred paces beyond the redoubt of Eu and of Fontenoi. He goes and sees whether Fontenoi still held out; there they had no more ball, so that they answered the enemy's shot with nothing but gunpowder.

M. du Brocard, lieutenant-general of artillery, and several other officers of the ordnance, were killed. The marshal then desired the duke d'Harcourt, whom he happened to meet, to go and beseech his majesty to remove farther off; at the same time he sent orders to the count de la Marck, who defended Antoin, to quit that post with the regiment of Piedmont. The battle seemed to be past all hopes; they were bringing back their field-pieces from every side, and were just upon the point of removing the artillery of the village of Fontenoi, though a supply of ball was come; they had even begun to send off the train. Marshal Saxe's intention was now to make his last effort against the English column. This enormous mass of infantry had suffered much, though it still seemed to be of the same depth: the soldiers were surprized to find themselves in the middle of the French camp without any cavalry: they continued unshaken, but did not appear to receive further order: their coun-

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tenance was bold and undaunted, and they seemed masters of the field of battle. If the Dutch had advanced between the redoubts of Battens, and acted vigorously in conjunction with the English, the battle would have been lost beyond all recovery, and there would have been no retreat, either for the army, or, in all probability, for the king and his son. The success of a last attack was dubious. Marshal Saxe, knowing that the victory, or an entire defeat, depended upon this event, thought of preparing a safe retreat, at the same time that he was doing all in his power to obtain the victory. He sent orders to the count de la Marck to evacuate Antoin, and to move towards the bridge of Colonne, in order to favour this retreat in case of a disappointment.

This order was extremely mortifying to the count de la Marck, who saw the Dutch ready to take possession of Antoin the moment he quitted it, and to turn the king's artillery against his own army. The marshal sent a second order by his aid-de-camp M. Dailvorde; it was intimated to the count de Lorges, who was made answerable for the execution of it; so that he was obliged to obey. At that time they despaired of the success of the day; but the greatest events depend on the most trivial circumstances, on a mistake, on some unexpected stroke.

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Those who were near the king, must have imagined the battle was lost, knowing that they had no ball at Fontenoi, that most of those who belonged to the ordnance were killed, that they also wanted ball at the post of M. de Chambonas, and that the village of Antoin was going to be evacuated.

Those who were near the duke of Cumberland, must have had a bad opinion of the day, because they still imagined themselves exposed to the cross-fire of Fontenoi and of the redoubt of Barri. They were ignorant, that the French were firing only with powder; the Dutch, who could not have been informed of the orders given for evacuating Antoin, did not advance; the English horse, which might have completed the disorder into which the French cavalry were thrown by the English column, did not appear; they could not advance without coming near to Fontenoi or to the redoubt, the fire of which still seemed uniform.

Here it will be asked, why the duke of Cumberland did not take care to have that redoubt attacked in the beginning, since he might have turned the cannon that was there against the French army, which would have secured him the victory? This is the very thing he had endeavoured to effect. At eight o'clock in the morning, he ordered brigadier Ingolsby to enter the woods of Barri with four regiments, in order to make himself

master



master of that post. The brigadier obeyed ; but, perceiving the artillery pointed against him, and several battalions who lay flat on their bellies, he went back for cannon. General Campbell promised him some, but this general was mortally wounded at the very beginning of the engagement, with a ball fired from that very redoubt, and the cannon was not ready soon enough. Then the duke of Cumberland, afraid of nothing but of losing time, had taken the resolution of passing on with his infantry, in defiance of the fire of the redoubt ; and this enterprize, which one would imagine must have proved fatal to him, had hitherto succeeded.

The French now held a kind of tumultuous council around the king, who was pressed by the general, and in the name of France, not to expose his person any longer. At this very instant arrived the duke de Richlieu, lieutenant-general of the army, who served as aide-de-camp to the king : he was come from reconnoitring the column and Fontenoi ; he had charged the enemy with the regiment of Vaisseaux, and with the life-guards ; he had also made M. Bellet advance with the Gendarmes under his command ; and these had stopped the column, which now no longer advanced.

Having thus rode about, and fought on every side, without being wounded, he presents himself, quite out of breath, with his sword

sword in hand, and all covered with dust. "Well, Resce," says marshal Noailles to him, (this was a familiar expression used by the marshal) "what news do you bring us, and what is your opinion?" "My news," says the duke of Richlieu, "is, that the victory is ours, if we have a mind; and my opinion is, that we immediately bring four pieces of cannon to bear against the front of the column: while this artillery throws it into disorder, the king's household and the other troops will surround it. We must fall upon them like foragers, and I'll lay my life that the day is ours." "But Fontenoi," said they, "is possessed by the enemy." "I come from thence," said the duke, "it holds out still." "We must see," replied they, "whether the marshal has not designed this cannon for some other use." He answered them, "There is no other to make of it." He was convinced himself, and he persuaded the rest.

The king was the first who approved of this important proposal, and every body else joined in the opinion. He gave orders, therefore, that instantly they should go and bring four pieces of cannon. Twenty rode away directly on that errand; when a captain of the regiment of Tourraine, whose name was Issards, aged one and twenty, perceived four pieces of cannon which they were carrying back;

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he gave notice thereof directly, and that very evening he had the cross of St. Lewis.

The king charged the duke de Pequigni, who has now the title of duke de Chaulnes, to go and see those four pieces pointed, they were designed, they said, to cover the retreat. "We shall make no retreat," said the duke de Chaulnes, "the king commands that these four pieces contribute to the victory." Upon which M. de Senneval, lieutenant of artillery, goes and plants them directly opposite to the column. The duke de Richlieu gallops full speed, in the king's name, to give orders to the king's household to march: he communicates this news to M. de Montesson, the commanding officer, who is transported with joy, and immediately puts himself at their head. The prince de Soubize assembles his gend-armes under his command; the duke de Chaulnes does the same with his light horse; they all draw up in order, and march.

The four squadrons of gend-armes advancing at the right of the king's household, the horse-grenadiers at their head, under their captain M. de Grille; and the musketeers, commanded by M. de Jumillac, rush boldly on. The dauphin was advancing, with sword in hand, to put himself at the head of the king's household; but they stopped him, telling him that his life was too precious, "Mine

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is not precious," said he; "it is the general's life that is precious in the day of battle." *ordw*

In this important moment, the count d'Eu and the duke de Biron at the right, beheld, with concern, the troops quitting their post at Antcin; the count de la Marck, their commander, with reluctance obeying. "I will answer," said the duke de Biron, for his disobedience, I am sure that the king will approve of it now that there is so great a change in our favour; I answer that marshal Saxe will think it right." The marshal coming up at that very time, was of the duke de Biron's opinion.

The general having been informed of the king's resolution, and of the good disposition of the troops, readily acquiesced. He changed opinion when he was obliged to change it. He made the regiment of Piedmont return to Antoin; he moved, notwithstanding his weakness, with great velocity to the right and to the left, and towards the Irish brigade, strictly recommending to all the troops that he met upon his way, not to make any more irregular charges, but to act in concert.

Whilst he was with the Irish brigade, attended by M. de Lowendahl, and my lord Clare; the duke de Biron, the count d'Estrees, and the marquis de Croisy, were together on the right, opposite to the left flank of the column upon a rising ground: they perceived

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the Irish and the regiment of Normandy, who were advancing towards the right flank. "Now is the time," said they one to another, "to march on our side; the English are beaten."

M. de Biron puts himself at the head of the king's regiment; those of Aubeterre and Courten follow him; and all the rest advance under the count d'Estrees. Five squadrons of Pentheivre's regiment follow M. de Croisy and his children; the squadrons of Fitz-James, Noailles, Chabillant, Brancas, and brienne, advanced with their colonels, tho' they had received no orders; and it seemed as if there was a perfect harmony between their movements, and all that had been done by M. de Richlieu. Never was the king better served than at that very instant; it was the quickest and most unanimous movement. My lord Clare marches up with the Irish; the regiment of Normandy, the French guards, and a battalion of the Swiss, advancing higher up towards the redoubt of Eu.

All these corps move at the same time; the Irish commanded by my lord Clare against the front of the column, the guards higher up under M. the count de Chabannes, their lieutenant-colonel. They were all separated from the English column by a hollow-way; they force through it, firing almost muzzle to muzzle, and then fall upon the English with their bayonets fixed upon their muskets. M.  
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de Bonnafantse, at that time first captain of the regiment of Normandy, who was afterwards the first that jumped upon the covert-way at Tournay, was now the first of his regiment that broke through the column; but the officers of the French guards had already made an impression. The carabineers betwixt the Irish and the king's household were then piercing through the first ranks; they were seen to run about and rally in the midst of the enemy, when the crowd and their impetuosity had disordered their ranks. Unluckily they mistook the Irish, who have nearly the same uniform as the English, for English battalions; and fell upon them with great fury. The Irish cried ou Vive France, but in the confusion they could not be heard; so that some Irish were killed thro' mistake.

The four cannon which the duke of Richieu had called for, and by the duke de Chaulnes had been levelled within one hundred paces of the column, had already made two discharges which thinned the ranks, and began to shake the front of the enemy's army. All the king's household advanced towards the front of the column, and threw it into disorder. The cavalry pressed it hard upon the left flank: marshal Saxe had recommended to them particularly to bear upon the enemy with the breasts of their horses, and he was well obeyed. The count d'Estrees, the young prince de Brionne, killed some of the enemy

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themselves in the foremost ranks : the officers of the king's chamber charged pell mell with the guards and the musketeers. All the pages were there with sword in hand ; so that the marquis de Tressau, who commanded the brigade of the king's body-guards, said to the king after the battle, " Sire, you sent us pages, whom we took for so many officers."

The duke de Biron at that time held the Dutch troops in play, with the king's regiment and the brigade de Crillon. He had already sent M. de Boisseul, a first page of the great stable, to tell the king that every thing went well on his side and that he would undertake to give a good account of the enemy.

On the other side, the marquis de Harcourt, son of the duke of that name, came to acquaint the king, in his father's name, that the troops were rallied on every side, and that the victory was sure.

At this very instant arrived the count de Castellane, dispatched by marshal Saxe, to inform the king, that the field of battle was recovered. In seven or eight minutes the whole English column was dispersed, general Ponsonby, my lord Albemarle's brother, five colonels, five captains of the guards, and a prodigious number of officers, were slain.

The English repassed the hollow-way betwixt Fontenoi and the redoubt, in the greatest disorder; the ground which had been taken



taken up by their column, as well as the hollow-way, was strewed with wounded and dead bodies.

We have entered into this long detail concerning the battle of Fontenoi, because its importance deserved it. This engagement determined the fate of the war, paved the way for the conquest of the Low-countries, and served as a counterpoise to all disappointments.

The presence of the king and his son, and the danger to which these two princes and France were exposed, greatly increased the importance of this ever memorable day.

The naval transactions of Great Britain were in the course of this year vigorously prosecuted. In the Mediterranean, admiral Rowley had succeeded Matthews in the command: and Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Bastia the capital of Corsica, were bombarded: several Spanish ships were taken; but he could not prevent the safe arrival of their rich Havannah squadron at Corunna. Commodore Barnet in the East-Indies made prize of several French ships richly laden; and commodore Townshend, in the latitude of Martinico, took about thirty merchant-ships belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ships of war, two of which were destroyed. The English privateers likewise met with uncommon success. But the most important achievement was the conquest of Louisburgh



on the island of Cape-Breton, in North-America; a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expence. The scheme of reducing this fortress was planned in Boston, and approved by his majesty, who sent instructions to commodore Warren, stationed off the Leeward-Islands, to sail for the northern parts of America, and co-operate with the forces of New England. A body of six thousand men was formed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataway, whose influence was extensive in that country; though utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April || commodore Warren arrived at Canis with ten ships of war: and the troops of New-England being embarked in transports, sailed immediately for the isle of Cape-Breton, where they landed without opposition. The enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town; and the immediate seizure of it contributed in a good measure to the success of the enterprize. While the American troops, reinforced by eight hundred marines, carried on their approaches by land, the squadron blocked up the place by sea in such a manner, that no succours could be introduced. A French ship of the line with some smaller vessels destined for the relief of

the garrison, were intercepted and taken by the British cruisers: The operations of the siege were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers who commanded the British marines; the town being considerably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the besiegers, and the governor despairing of relief, capitulated on the seventeenth day of June, † when the city of Louisburgh, and the isle of Cape Breton were surrendered to his Britannick majesty. The garrison and inhabitants engaged, that they would not bear arms for twelve months against Great-Britain or her allies; and being embarked in fourteen cartel ships, were transported to Rochfort. In a few days after the surrender of Louisburgh, two French East-India ships, and another from Peru, laden with treasure, sailed into the harbour, on the supposition that it still belonged to France; and were taken by the English squadron.

Great Britain was once more alarmed with a fresh invasion. ‡

The young pretender being furnished with a sum of money, and a supply of arms by the ministry of France, embarked on board of a small frigate at port St. Lazare, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, sir Thomas Sheridan, with a few other Irish and Scottish

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† 1745.

‡ Smollet.

adventures : and setting sail on the fourteenth day of July 11, was off Belleisle joined by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war mounted with sixty six guns, as his convoy. Their design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the western part of Scotland ; but falling in with the lion, an English ship of the line, a very obstinate and bloody action ensued. The Elizabeth was so disabled that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached the harbour of Brest ; but the lion was shattered to such a degree, that she floated like a wreck upon the water. Prince Charles in the frigate continued his course the western isles of Scotland ; and landing on the coast of Lochaber, was in a little time joined by a considerable number of hardy mountainers, under their respective chiefs, or leaders. The young adventurer having assembled about fifteen hundred men, encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort Wiiliam ; and immediately hostilities were commenced. A detachment from his main body surprised two companies of new-raised soldiers, who, with their officer were disarmed after an obstinate dispute ; another captain of the king's forces falling into their hands, was courteously dismissed with one of the pretender's manifestos, and a pass-part for his personal safety. The lords of the



regency, the king being at Hanover, issued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds to any person who should apprehend the prince adventurer; and a courier was dispatched to Holland to hasten the return of his majesty, who arrived in England about the latter end of August. A requisition was made of the six thousand Dutch auxiliaries; and several British regiments were recalled from the Netherlands. A loyal address was presented to the king by the city of London; and the merchants of this metropolis resolved to raise two regiments at their own expence. Orders were issued to keep the trained bands in readiness; to array the militia of Westminster; and instructions to the same effect were sent to all the lords-lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom: The principal noblemen of the nation made a tender of their services to their sovereign, and some of them received commissions to levy regiments towards the suppression of the rebellion. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places; associations formed, large contributions raised in different towns, counties, and communities.

The whole nation seemed unanimously bent upon opposing the enterprize of the pretender, who, nevertheless, had already made surprising progress. His arrival in Scotland was no sooner confirmed, than sir John Cope,

who



who commanded the troops in that kingdom, assembled what force he could bring together, and advanced against the rebels. Understanding however, that they had taken possession of a strong pass, he changed his route, and proceeded northwards as far as Inverness, leaving the capital and the southern parts of North Britain wholly exposed to the incursions of the enemy. They forthwith marched to Perth, where the chevalier de St George was proclaimed king of Great Britain, and the publick money seized for his use; the same steps were taken at Dundee, and other places. Here prince Charles was joined by the nobleman who assumed the title of duke of Perth, the viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, and many persons of distinction with their followers. The marquis of Tullibardine, who had accompanied him from France, took possession of Athole as heir of blood to the titles and estate which his younger brother enjoyed in consequence of his attainder; and met with some success in arming the tenants for the support of that cause which he avowed. The rebel army being considerably augmented, though very ill provided with arms, crossed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and advanced towards Edinburgh, which they entered without opposition. The inhabitants were divided by faction and distracted by fear: the place was not in a posture of defence, and the

magistrates would not expose the people to the uncertain issue of an assault. The rebels were admitted into the city; † and their prince took possession of the royal palace of Holy-rood house, in the suburbs. Then he caused his father to be proclaimed at the market-cross; and there also the manifesto was read, in which the Chevalier de St. George declared his son Charles regent of his dominions, promised to dissolve the union, and to redress the grievances of Scotland. His being in possession of the capital encouraged his followers, and added reputation to his arms, but he missed his aim of seizing the treasure belonging to the two banks of that kingdom, which had been previously conveyed into the castle, a strong fortress, with a good garrison under the command of general Gueft.

In the mean time sir John Cope marched back from Inverness to Aberdeen, where he embarked with his troops, and on the sixteenth day of September landed at Dunbar, about twenty miles to the eastward of Edinburgh. Here he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, which had retired from the capital at the approach of the Highland army. His troops now amounted to three thousand men, including some Highlanders well-affect-  
ed to the government, who had offered their

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† This was in the month of September.

services

services to him at Inverness: and he began his march for Edinburgh, in order to give battle to the enemy. On the twentieth day of the month, he encamped in the neighbourhood of Preston-pans, having the village of Tranant in his front, and the sea in his rear. Early next morning he was attacked by the young pretender, at the head of about three thousand Highlanders half armed, who charged him sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in less than ten minutes after the battle began, the king's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled with great precipitation at the first onset. All the infantry was either killed or taken; and the colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and military chest, fell into the hands of the victor, who returned in triumph to Edinburgh. Not above fourscore of the rebels lost their lives in the engagement. Five hundred of the king's troops were killed on the field of battle; colonel Gardiner, a gallant officer, disdained to save his life at the expence of his honour. When abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horse, joined the infantry, and fought on foot, until he fell covered with wounds, in sight of his own threshold. The wounded soldiers were treated with humanity; and the officers were sent into Fife and Angus, where they were left at liberty on their parole. From this victory the pretender reaped manifold and important



tant advantages. He was supplied with a train of field artillery, and a considerable sum of money, and saw himself possessed of all Scotland, except the fortresses. After the battle he was joined by a small detachment from the Highlands; and some chiefs, who had hitherto been on the reserve, began to exert their influence in his favour. But he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that consternation which his late success had diffused through the kingdom of England.

He continued to reside in the palace of Holy-rood house: and made some unsuccessful attempts to cut off the communication between the castle and the city. He levied a regiment in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood. The number of his followers daily increased; and he received considerable supplies of money artillery, and ammunition, by single ships that arrived from France. The duke of Argyll began to arm his vassals: twelve hundred men were raised by the earl of Sutherland; the lord Rae brought a considerable number to the field: the Grants and Monroes appeared under their respective leaders for the service of his majesty: sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod sent two thousand hardy islanders from Skie, to strengthen the same interest.

The earl of Loudon repaired to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of Highlanders. By this time, however, the prince pretender

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pretender was joined by the earl of Kilmar-nock, the lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvy, Pittligo ; and the eldest son of lord Lovat had begun to assemble his father's clan, in order to reinforce the victorious adventurer, whose army lay encamped by Dalkeith, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. But great dependance was placed upon the power and attachment of lord Lovat, who had entered into private engagements with the chevalier de St. George though he still wore the mask of loyalty to the government, and disavowed the conduct of his son when he declared for the pretender.

Immediately after the defeat of Cope, six thousand Dutch troops arrived in England, and three battalions of guards, with seven regiments of infantry, were recalled from Flanders for the defence of the kingdom. They forthwith began their march to the North, under the command of general Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which proceeded to Newcastle. The duke of Cumberland being now arrived from the Netherlands, was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. The county regiments were completed : the volunteers in different parts of the kingdom employed themselves industriously in the exercise of arms. Admiral Vernon commanded a squadron in the Downs, to observe the motions of the enemy by sea, especially in the

the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne; and his cruisers took several ships loaded with soldiers, officers, and ammunition, destined for the service of the pretender in Scotland.

The young pretender having collected about five thousand men, made an irruption into England by the West border on the sixth day of November. Carlisle was invested, and in less than three days surrendered: here he found a considerable quantity of arms, and was proclaimed king of Great Britain. General Wade being apprised of his progress, decamped from Newcastle, and advanced across the country as far as Hexham, though the fields were covered with snow, and the roads almost impassable. Here he received intelligence that Carlisle was reduced, and forthwith returned to his former station. In the mean time orders were issued for assembling another army in Staffordshire, under the command of sir John Ligonier. Prince Charles notwithstanding this formidable opposition, determined to proceed.

Leaving a small garrison in the castle of Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in the Highland garb, at the head of his forces; and continued his route through Lancaster and Preston to Manchester, where, on the twenty ninth day of the month, he established his head-quarters, where he was joined by about two hundred Englishmen, who

who were formed into a regiment. His intention was to prosecute his march by the way of Chester into Wales, but all the bridges over the river Mersey being broke down, he chose the route to Stockport, and forded the river at the head of his division, though the water rose to his middle. He passed through Macclesfield and Congleton; and, on the fourth day of December entered the town of Derby, in which his army was quartered, and his father proclaimed with great formality. He had now advanced within one hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with terror and confusion. Wade lingered in Yorkshire: the duke of Cumberland had assumed the command of the other army assembled in the neighbourhood of Litchfield. He had marched from Stafford to Stone: so that the rebels, in turning off by Ashborne to Derby, had gained a march between him and London.

Orders were now given for forming a camp on Finchley common, where the king resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by the earl of Stair, field-marshal and commander in chief of the forces in South-Britain. The militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march: double watches were posted at the city gates, and signals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the city were incorporatad into a regiment, the



the practitioners of the law, headed by the judges : the weavers of Spittlefields, and other communities, engaged in associations.

The young pretender had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom, except a few that joined him at Manchester, but not a soul appeared in his behalf. The Highland chiefs began to murmur, and their clans to be unruly : he saw himself with a handful of men hemmed in between two considerable armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country disaffected to his cause. He therefore called a council at Derby, and, after violent disputes, the majority determined, that they should retreat to Scotland with all possible expedition. Accordingly they abandoned Derby on the sixth day of December, early in the morning, and marched with such celerity, that on the ninth, their van guard arrived at Manchester ; on the twelfth they entered Preston, and continued their march northwards. The duke of Cumberland, who was encamped at Meriden, when first apprised of their retreat, detached the horse and dragoons in pursuit of them ; while general Wade began his march from Ferry-bridge into Lancashire, with a view of intercepting them in their route : but at Wakefield he understood that they had already reached Wigan, and therefore he repaired to his old post at Newcastle, after having detached general Oglethorpe with his horse and dragoons to  
join



join those who had been sent off from the duke's army. They pursued with such alacrity, that they overtook the rear of the rebels, with which they skirmished in Lancashire. The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were raised and armed by the duke's order, to harraß them in their march. The bridges were broken down, the roads damaged, and the beacons lighted to alarm the country. Nevertheless, they retreated regularly, with their small train of artillery. They were overtaken at the village of Clifton, in the neighbourhood of Penrith, by two regiments of dragoons. These alighted, in order to attack a party of their rear guard which had thrown themselves into the place, with a view to retard the pursuit. The assailants were roughly handled; and the rebels having accomplished their purpose, retired with the loss of a few individuals, who were either killed or taken. On the nineteenth day of the month the Highland army reached Carlisle, and having reinforced the garrison of the place, crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland. The most remarkable circumstance of this expedition, was, the moderation and regularity with which those ferocious people conducted themselves, in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no outrage committed; and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine.

The

The duke of Cumberland invested Carlisle with his whole army on the twenty-first day of December, and on the thirtieth, the garrison surrendered at discretion.

The duke returned to London, whilst the pretender proceeded by the way of Dumfries to Glasgow, from which last city he exacted severe contributions, on account of its attachment to the government. Having continued several days at Glasgow, he advanced towards Stirling, and was joined by some forces which had been assembled in his absence. He fixed his head-quarters at Perth, where he was reinforced by the earl of Cromartie, and other clans, to the number of two thousand, and he was accommodated with a small train of artillery. They had found means to surprise a sloop of war at Montrose, with the guns of which they fortified that harbour. They had received a considerable sum of money from Spain. They took possession of Dundee, Dumblaine, Down-castle, and laid Fife under contribution. The earl of Loudon remained at Inverness, with about two thousand highlanders in the service of his majesty. He raised the blockade of Fort Augustus, which the son of lord Lovat had formed: he secured the person of that nobleman, who still temporized, and at length accomplished his escape. The laird of Macleod, and Mr. Monro of Culcainn, being detached from Inverness, towards  
Aber-

Aberdeenshire, were surpris'd and routed by lord Lewis Gordon at Inverary. Prince Charles, being joined by lord John Drummond, invested the castle of Stirling, in which general Blakeney commanded: but his people were so little used to enterprizes of this kind, that they made very little progress in their operations.

By this time, a considerable body of forces was assembled at Edinburgh, under the conduct of general Hawley, who resolved to relieve Stirling castle, and advanced to Linlithgow on the 13th day of January †: next day his whole army rendezvoused at Falkirk, while the rebels lay encamped at Torwood. On the seventeenth day of the month they were perceived in full march to attack the king's forces, which were formed in order of battle, and advanced to the encounter. The enemy had taken possession of a hill on their right; and Hawley ordered two regiments of dragoons to drive them from that eminence. Their prince, who stood in the front of the line, gave the signal to fire, by waving his cap; and his followers took aim so well, that the assailants were broke by the first volley: they retreated with precipitation, and fell in amongst the infantry, which were likewise discomposed by the wind and

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† 1746

rain



rain beating with great violence in their faces, wetting their powder, and disturbing their eye-sight. The rebels followed their first blow, and great part of the royal army, after one irregular discharge, turned their backs and fled, in the utmost consternation. However, general Huske and brigadier Cholmondeley rallied some regiments, and made a gallant stand, which favoured the retreat of the rest to Falkirk. The king's forces retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery, to the rebels: but their loss of men did not exceed three hundred.

It was judged necessary, that the army in Scotland should be commanded by a general in whom the soldiers might have some confidence; and the duke of Cumberland was chosen for this purpose: he therefore began to prepare for his northern expedition. Mean while, the French minister at the Hague, having represented to the States-general, that the auxiliaries which they had sent into Great Britain, were part of the garrison of Tournay, and restricted by the capitulation from bearing arms against France for a certain term; they thought proper to recal them, rather than come to an open rupture with his most christian majesty; and in their room six thousand Hessians were transported from Flanders to Leith, where they arrived.



arrived in the beginning of February, under the command of their prince, Frederick of Hesse.

The duke of Cumberland put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, consisting of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and fifteen hundred highlanders from Argyleshire, under the command of colonel Campbell. On the last day of January, his royal highness began his march to Linlithgow; and the enemy, who had renewed the siege of Stirling castle, not only abandoned that enterprize, but crossed the river Forth with precipitation. Their prince found great difficulty in maintaining his forces, that part of the country being quite exhausted; he hoped to be reinforced in the Highlands, and to receive supplies of all kinds from France and Spain: he therefore retired by Badenoch, towards Inverness, which the earl of Loudon abandoned at his approach. The fort was surrendered to him without opposition, and here he fixed his head-quarters. The duke of Cumberland having secured the important posts of Stirling and Perth, with the Hessian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, the earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the laird of Grant, and other persons of distinction.

While

While he remained in this place, refreshing his troops, and preparing magazines, a party of the rebels surpris'd a detachment of Kingston's horse, and about seventy Argyleshire Highlanders, at Keith, who were cut in pieces. Several advanced parties of that militia met with the same fate in different places. Lord George Murray invest'd the castle of Blair, which was defended by sir Andrew Agnew, until a body of Hessians march'd to its relief, and oblig'd the rebels to retire. They likewise undertook the siege of Fort William, under the direction of brigadier Stapleton, an engineer in the French service; but the place was so vigorously maintained by captain Scot, that, in the beginning of April, they thought proper to relinquish the enterprize. The earl of Loudon had retired into Sutherland, and taken post at Dornoch, where his quarters were beat up by a strong detachment of the rebels, commanded by the duke of Perth: a major and sixty men were taken prisoners, and the earl was oblig'd to take shelter in the isle of Skye. These little checks were counterbalanced by some advantages which his majesty's arms obtained. The sloop of war which the rebels had surpris'd at Montrose, was retaken in Sutherland, with a considerable sum of money, and a great quantity of arms on board, which she had brought from France for the use of the pretender. In the

same

same county, the earl of Cromartie fell into an ambuscade, and was taken by the militia of Sutherland, who likewise defeated a body of rebels at Goldspie.

In the beginning of April, the duke of Cumberland began his march from Aberdeen; and, on the twelfth, passed the deep and rapid river Spey, without opposition from the rebels, though a considerable number of them appeared on the other side. His royal highness proceeded to Nairn, where he received intelligence, that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to Culloden, about the distance of nine miles from the royal army, with intention to give him battle. On the sixteenth day of April, the duke having made the proper dispositions, decamped from Nairn early in the morning, and, after a march of nine miles, perceived the highlanders drawn up in order of battle, to the number of five thousand men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery. The royal army, which was much more numerous, the duke immediately formed into three lines, disposed in excellent order; and about one o'clock in the afternoon the cannonading began. The artillery of the rebels was ill served, and did very little execution; but that of the king's troops made dreadful havock among the enemy. Impatient of this fire, their front line advanced to the attack, and about five hundred of the  
clans



clans charged the duke's left wing with their usual impetuosity. One regiment was disordered by the weight of this column; but two battalions advancing from the second line, sustained the first, and soon put a stop to their career, by a severe fire, that killed a great number. At the same time, the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia, pulled down a park wall that covered their right flank, and falling in among them sword in hand, compleated their confusion. The French piquets on their left did not fire a shot; but stood inactive during the engagement, and afterwards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An intire body of the clans marched off the field in order, with their pipes playing: the rest were routed with great slaughter, and their prince was with reluctance prevailed upon to retire. In less than thirty minutes they were totally defeated, and the field covered with the slain. The road, as far as Inverness, was strewed with dead bodies. Twelve hundred rebels were slain on the field, and in the pursuit. The earl of Kilmarnock was taken; and, in a few days, lord Balmerino surrendered himself to one of the detached parties. The soldiers, provoked by their former disgraces, and not contented with the blood which was so profusely shed in the heat of the action, traversed the field after the battle, and massacred those miserable wretches that lay maimed



and expiring; nay, some officers acted a part in this cruel scene of assassination.

The vanquished adventurer forded the river Ness, and retired with a few horse to Aird, where he conferred with old lord Lovat: then he dismissed his followers, and wandered about a wretched and solitary fugitive among the isles and mountains, for the space of five months; during which he underwent such a series of dangers, hardships, and misery, as no other person ever outlived.

When the news of the battle arrived in England, the nation was transported with joy, and extolled the duke of Cumberland as a hero and deliverer. Both houses of parliament congratulated his majesty on this auspicious event. They decreed, in the most solemn manner, their public thanks to his royal highness, which were transmitted to him by the speakers; and the commons, by bill, added five and twenty thousand pounds per annum to his former revenue.

Immediately after the decisive action at Culloden, the duke took possession of Inverness; where six and thirty deserters, convicted by a court-martial, were ordered to be executed; and then he detached several parties to ravage the country.

The castle of lord Lovat was destroyed. The French prisoners were sent to Carlisle and Penrith: Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Cromartie, and his son the lord Macleod, were conveyed

conveyed by sea to London; and those of an inferior rank were confined in different prisons. The marquis of Tullibardine, together with a brother of the earl of Dunmore, and Murray, the pretender's secretary, were seized and transported to the Tower of London, to which the earl of Traquair had been committed on suspicion; and the eldest son of lord Lovat was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. All the goals of Great-Britain, from the capital northwards, were filled with those unfortunate captives; and great numbers of them were crowded together in the holds of ships, where they perished in the most deplorable manner.

Some rebel chiefs escaped in two French frigates that arrived on the coast of Lochaber about the end of April, and engaged three vessels belonging to his Britannic majesty, which they obliged to retire. Others embarked on board of a ship on the coast of Buchan; and were conveyed to Norway, from whence they travelled to Sweden.

In the month of May, the duke of Cumberland advanced with the army into the Highlands, as far as Fort-Augustus, where he encamped, and sent off detachments on all hands, to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword.

Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burned; every house, hut, or habitation, met with the same fate, without distinction; and

and all the cattle and provision were carried off: the men were either shot upon the mountains, like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood, without form of trial; the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was inclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. Those ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that, in a few days, there was neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, to be seen within the compass of fifty miles; all was ruin, silence, and desolation.

The young pretender was now surrounded by armed troops, that chased him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from shore to shore. Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other support but that which the poorest peasant could supply. Sometimes he was rowed in fisher-boats from isle to isle, among the Hebrides, and often in sight of his pursuers. For some days he appeared in woman's attire, and even passed through the midst of his enemies unknown: but, understanding that his disguise was discovered, he assumed the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and heaths with a matted beard and squalid looks, in continual danger



danger of being apprehended, and exposed to cold, hunger, thirst, and weariness.

He was obliged to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, and many of these were in the lowest paths of fortune. They knew that a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head; and, that, by betraying him, they should enjoy wealth and affluence; but they detested the thought of obtaining riches on such infamous terms, and ministered to his necessities, with the utmost zeal and fidelity, even at the hazard of their own destruction.

In the course of these peregrinations he was more than once hemmed in by his pursuers, in such a manner as seemed to preclude all possibility of escaping: yet he was never abandoned by his hope and recollection; he still found some expedient that saved him from captivity and death; and, through the whole course of his distresses, maintained the most amazing equanimity and good-humour.

At length, a privateer of St. Malo, hired by his adherents, arrived at Lochmanach; and, on the seventeenth day of September, this unfortunate prince embarked in the most wretched attire. He was clad in a short coat of black frize, thread-bare, over which was a common Highland plaid girt round him by a belt, from whence depended a pistol and a dagger. He had not been shifted for many weeks;



weeks; his shoes and stockings hung in tatters on his legs and feet. His eye was hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by Sullivan and Sheridan, two Irish adherents, who had shared all his calamities, by Cameron of Lochiel and his brother, and a few other exiles.

They set sail for France, and, after having been chased by two ships of war, arrived in safety at Roscau, near Morlaix, in Bretagne.

The rebellion being quelled, the legislature resolved to make examples of those who had been concerned in disturbing the peace of their country. In June, an act of attainder was passed against the principal persons who had embarked in that desperate undertaking; and courts were opened, in different parts of England, for the trial of the prisoners. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were executed at Kennington-common, in the neighbourhood of London, and suffered, with great constancy, under the dreadful tortures which their sentence prescribed: nine were put to death in the same manner at Carlisle; six at Brumpton, seven at Penrith, and eleven at York: a few obtained pardons, and a considerable number were transported to the plantations.

Bills of indictment for high-treason were found by the county of Surry against the earls of

of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lord Balmerino. These noblemen were tried by their peers in Westminster-hall, the lord-chancellor presiding as lord-high-steward for the occasion.

The two earls confessed their crime, and, in pathetic speeches, recommended themselves to his majesty's mercy.

Lord Balmerino pleaded not guilty; he denied his having been at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment: but this exception was over-ruled. Then he moved a point of law in arrest of judgment, and was allowed to be heard by his council. He submitted to the court, which pronounced sentence of decapitation upon him and his associates.

Cromartie's life was spared; but the other two were beheaded, in the month of August, 1746, upon Tower-hill.

In November, Mr. Ratcliff, the titular earl of Derwentwater, who had been taken in a ship bound to Scotland, was arraigned on a former sentence, passed against him in the year 1716: he refused to acknowledge the authority of the court, and pleaded that he was a subject of France, honoured with a commission in the service of his most Christian majesty. The identity of his person being proved, a rule was made for his execution; and, on the eighth day of December, he suffered decapitation, with the most perfect composure and serenity.

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Lord Lovat, now turned of fourscore, was impeached by the commons, and tried in Westminster-hall before the lord-high-steward. John Murray, secretary to the prince-pretender, and some of his own domestics, appearing against him, he was convicted of high-treason, and condemned.

The king of France, with his general, the count de Saxe, took the field in the latter end of April \*, at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and advanced towards the Allies, who, to the number of forty-four thousand men, were intrenched behind the Demer, under the conduct of the Austrian general Bathiani, who retired before them, and took post in the neighbourhood of Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant.

Marshal Saxe immediately invested Antwerp, which in a few days was surrendered. Then he appeared before the strong town of Mons, in Hainault, with an irresistible artillery, an immense quantity of bombs and warlike implements. He carried on his approaches with such unabating impetuosity, that, notwithstanding a very vigorous defence, the garrison was obliged to capitulate on the twenty-seventh day of June, in about eight



and twenty days after the place had been invested.

Sieges were not now carried on by the tedious method of sapping. The French king found it much more expeditious and effectual to bring into the field a prodigious train of battering cannon, and enormous mortars, that kept up such a fire as no garrison could sustain; and discharged such an incessant hail of bombs and bullets, as, in a very little time, reduced to ruins the place, with all its fortifications.

St. Gislain and Charleroy met with the fate of Mons and Antwerp; so that, by the middle of July, the French king was absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

Prince Charles of Lorraine had, by this time, assumed the command of the confederate army at Terheyde; which, being reinforced by the Hessian troops from Scotland, and a fresh body of Austrians under count Palfi, amounted to eighty-seven thousand men, including the Dutch forces commanded by the prince of Waldeck.

The generals, supposing the next storm would fall upon Namur, marched towards that place, and took post in an advantageous situation on the eighteenth of July, in sight of the French army, which was encamped at Gemblours. Here they remained till the 8th day of August, when a detachment of the enemy,



enemy, commanded by count Lowendahl, took possession of Huy, where he found a large magazine belonging to the Confederates; and their communication with Maestricht was cut off.

Marshal Saxe, on the other side, took his measures so well, that they were utterly deprived of all subsistence. Then prince Charles retiring across the Maeze, abandoned Namur to the efforts of the enemy, by whom it was immediately invested.

The trenches were opened on the second day of September; and the garrison, consisting of seven thousand Austrians, defended themselves with equal skill and resolution; but, the cannonading and bombardment were so terrible, that, in a few days, the place was converted into a heap of rubbish; and, on the twenty-third day of the month, the French monarch took possession of this strong fortress, which had formerly sustained such dreadful attacks.

Mean while the allied army encamped at Maestricht, were joined by Sir John Ligonier, with some British and Bavarian battalions; and prince Charles resolved to give the enemy battle. With this view he passed the Maeze on the thirteenth day of September, and advanced towards marshal Saxe, whom he found so advantageously posted at Tongres, that he thought proper to march back to Maestricht.

On the twenty-sixth day of September he crossed the Jaar in his retreat; and his rear was attacked by the enemy, who were repulsed. But, count Saxe being reinforced by a body of troops, under the count de Clermont, determined to bring the Confederates to an engagement. On the thirteenth day of the month he passed to Jaar, while they took possession of the villages of Liers, Warem, and Roucoux, drew up their forces in order of battle, and made preparations for giving him a warm reception.

On the first day of October the enemy advanced in three columns; and a terrible cannonading began about noon. At two o'clock prince Waldeck, on the left, was charged with great fury; and, after an obstinate defence, overpowered by numbers. The villages were attacked in columns, and, as one brigade was repulsed, another succeeded; so that the Allies were obliged to abandon these posts, and retreat towards Maestricht, with the loss of five thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery.

The victory, however, cost the French general a much greater number of lives, and was attended with no solid advantage. Sir John Ligonier, the earls of Crawford and Rothes, brigadier Douglas, and other officers of the British troops, distinguished themselves by their gallantry and conduct on this occasion.

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This action terminated the campaign. The Allies passing the Maeze took up their winter-quarters in the dutchies of Limburgh and Luxembourg; while the French cantoned their troops in the places which they had newly conquered.

The Piedmontese and Austrians advanced to Tortona, of which they took possession without resistance; while the enemy sheltered themselves under the cannon of Genoa. They did not long continue in this situation; for, on the twenty-second day of August, they were again in motion, and retired into Provence.

The court of Madrid, imputing the bad success of this campaign to the misconduct of count Gages, recalled that general, and sent the marquis de la Minas to resume the command of the forces.

In the mean time, the victorious Confederates appeared before Genoa on the fourth day of December; and the senate of that city thinking it incapable of defence, submitted to a very mortifying capitulation; by which the gates were delivered up to the Austrians, together with all their arms, artillery, and ammunition; and the city was subjected to the most cruel contributions.

The marquis de Botta being left at Genoa with sixteen thousand men, the king of Sardinia resolved to pass the Var, and pursue the French and Spaniards into Provence; but,



that monarch being seized with the small-pox, the conduct of this expedition was intrusted to count Brown, an Austrian general of Irish extract, who had given repeated proofs of uncommon valour and capacity. He was on this occasion assisted by vice-admiral Medley, who commanded the British squadron in the Mediterranean.

The French forces had fortified the passes of Var, under the conduct of the marshal de Belleisle, who thought proper to abandon his posts at the approach of count Brown; and this general, at the head of fifty thousand men, passed the river, without opposition, on the ninth day of November. While he advanced as far as Draguignan, laying the open country under contribution, baron Roth, with four and twenty battalions, invested Antibes, which was at the same time bombarded on the side of the sea by the British squadron.

The trenches were opened on the twentieth day of September; but, Belleisle having assembled a numerous army, superior to that of the Confederates, and the Genoese having expelled their Austrian guests, count Brown abandoned the enterprize, and repassed the Var, nor without some damage from the enemy.

The court of Vienna, which has always patronized oppression, exacted such heavy contributions from the Genoese, and its directions.



actions were so rigorously put in execution, that the people were reduced to despair; and resolved to make a last effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence. Accordingly they took arms in secret, seized several important posts of the city; surprized some battalions of the Austrians; surrounded others and cut them in pieces; and, in a word, drove them out with great slaughter.

The marquis de Botta acted with great caution and spirit; but, being overpowered by numbers, and apprehensive of the peasants in the country, who were in arms, he retreated to the pass of the Bochetta, on the side of Lombardy, where he secured himself in an advantageous situation, until he could receive reinforcements. The loss he had sustained at Genoa did not hinder him from reducing Savona, a sea-port town belonging to that republic; and he afterwards made himself master of Gavi.

The Genoese, on the contrary, exerted themselves with wonderful industry in fortifying their city, raising troops, and in taking other measures for a vigorous defence, in case they should again be insulted.

The naval transactions of this year reflected very little honour on the British nation. Commodore Peyton, who commanded six ships of war in the East-Indies, shamefully declined a decisive engagement with a French Squadron of inferior force; and abandoned the import-

ant settlement of Madras on the coast of Coromandel, which was taken without opposition in the month of September, by the French commodore de la Bourdonnais. Fort St. David, and the other British factories in India, would have probably shared the same fate, had not the enemy's naval force in that country been shattered and partly destroyed by a terrible tempest. No event of consequence happened in America.

The reduction of Cape-Breton had encouraged the ministry to project the conquest of Quebec, the capital of Canada, situated upon the river St. Laurence. Commissioners were sent to the governors of the British colonies in North-America, empowering them to raise companies to join the armament from England; and eight thousand troops were actually raised in consequence of these directions; while a powerful squadron and transports, having six regiments on board, were prepared at Portsmouth for this expedition. But their departure was postponed by unaccountable delays, until the season was judged too far advanced to risque the great ships on the boisterous coast of North-America.

That the armament, however, might not be wholly useless to the nation, it was employed in making a descent upon the coast of Bretagne, on the supposition that port L'Orient, the repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East-India company, might

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might be surprised; or, that this invasion would alarm the enemy, and, by making a diversion, facilitate the operations of the Austrian general in Provence.

The naval force intended for this service consisted of sixteen great ships, and eight frigates, besides bomb-ketches and store-ships, commanded by Richard Lestock, appointed admiral of the blue division. Six battalions of land-troops, with a detachment of matrosses and bombardiers, were embarked in thirty transports, under the conduct of lieutenant-general Sinclair: and the whole fleet set sail from Plymouth on the fourteenth day of September\*.

On the twentieth, the troops were landed in Quimperlay-bay, at the distance of ten miles from Port L'Orient. The militia, reinforced by some detachments from different regiments, were assembled; to the number of two thousand; and seemed resolved to oppose the disembarkation: but, seeing the British troops determined to land at all events, they thought proper to retire. Next day general Sinclair advanced into the country, skirmishing with the enemy in his route; and, arriving at the village of Plemure, within half a league of Port L'Orient, summoned that place to surrender.



He was visited by a deputation from the town, which offered to admit the British forces on condition, that they should be restrained from pillaging the inhabitants, and touching the magazines; and, that they should pay a just price for their provisions. These terms being rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence; and the English general resolved to besiege the place in form; though he had neither time, artillery, nor forces for such an enterprize. All his cannon amounted to no more than a few field-pieces; and he was obliged to wait for two iron guns, which the sailors dragged up from the shipping. But the reduction of it was rendered impracticable by his delay. The ramparts were mounted with cannon from the ships in the harbour; new works were raised with great industry; the garrison was reinforced by several bodies of regular troops, and great numbers were assembling from all parts; so that the British forces were in danger of being surrounded in an enemy's country.

Notwithstanding these discouragements, they opened a small battery against the town, which was set on fire in several places by their bombs and red-hot bullets: they likewise repulsed part of the garrison which had made a sally to destroy their works; but their cannon producing no effect upon the fortifications, the fire from the town daily increasing, and  
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admiral Lestock declaring, in repeated messages, that he could no longer expose the ships on an open coast at such a season of the year, general Sinclair abandoned the siege; and, having caused the two iron pieces of cannon to be buried, retreated in good order to the sea-side, where his troops were re-imbarked, having sustained very inconsiderable damage since their first landing. He expected reinforcements from England, and was resolved to wait a little longer for their arrival, in hope of being able to annoy the enemy more effectually.

In the beginning of October the fleet sailed to Quiberon bay, where they destroyed a French ship of war; and a detachment of the forces being landed, took possession of a fort on the peninsula; while the little islands of Houat and Heydic were reduced by the sailors. In this situation the admiral and general continued till the seventeenth day of the month, when the forts being dismantled, and the troops re-imbarked, the fleet sailed from the French coast: the admiral returned to England, and the transports, with the soldiers, proceeded to Ireland, where they arrived in safety.

This expedition, weak and frivolous as it may seem, was resented by the French nation as one of the greatest insults they had ever sustained; and demonstrated the possibility of

hurting France in her tenderest parts, by means of an armament of this nature, well timed, and vigorously conducted.

The British squadron in the West-Indies performed no exploit of consequence in the course of this year. The commerce was but indifferently protected. Commodore Lee, stationed off Martinico, allowed a French fleet of merchant ships and their convoy, to pass by his squadron unmolested; and commodore Mitchel behaved scandalously in a rencounter with the French squadron, under the command of monsieur de Conflans, who, in his return to Europe, took the *Severn*, an English ship of fifty guns. The cruisers on all sides, English, French, and Spaniards, were extremely alert; and though the English lost the greater number of ships, this difference was more than overbalanced, by the superior value of the prizes taken from the enemy. In the course of this year two and twenty Spanish privateers, and sixty-six merchant vessels, including ten register-ships, fell into the hands of the British cruisers: from the French they took seven ships of war, ninety privateers, and about three hundred ships of commerce.

The French king at length discovered an inclination to peace, and in September a congress was opened at Breda, the capital of Dutch Brabant, where the plenipotentiaries  
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of the emperor, Great-Britain, France and Holland were assembled : but the French were so insolent in their demands, that the conferences were soon interrupted.

The commons having considered the estimates, voted forty thousand seamen for the service of the ensuing year. and about sixty thousand land forces, including eleven thousand five hundred marines. They granted four hundred and thirty-three thousand pounds to the empress queen of Hungary : three hundred thousand pounds to the king of Sardinia, four hundred and ten thousand pounds for the maintenance of eighteen thousand Hanoverian auxiliaries ; one hundred and sixty one thousand six hundred and seven pounds, for six thousand Hessians ; subsidies to the electors of Cologne, Mentz, and Bavaria : and the sum of five hundred thousand pounds to enable his majesty to prosecute the war with advantage. In a word, the supplies amounted to nine millions, four hundred twenty-five thousand two hundred fifty four pounds. The supplies of this year exceeded, by two millions and a half, the greatest annual sum that was raised during the reign of queen Anne, though she maintained as great a number of troops as was now in the pay of Great-Britain, and her armies and fleets acquired every year fresh harvests of glory and advantage : whereas this war had proved

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an almost uninterrupted series of events big with disaster and dishonour. During the last two years, the naval expence of England had exceeded that of France about five million sterling; though her fleets had not obtained one single advantage over the enemy at sea, nor been able to protect her commerce from their depredations. Before the end of summer, she numbered among her mercenaries two empresses, five German princes, and a powerful monarch, whom she hired to assist her in trimming the balance of Europe, in which they themselves were immediately interested, and she had no more than a secondary concern.

The king, in order to exhibit a specimen of his desire to diminish the public expence, ordered the third and fourth troops of his life-guards to be disbanded, and reduced three regiments of horse to the quality of dragoons. The operations of the campaign had been concerted in the winter, at the Hague, between the duke of Cumberland and the states general of the United Provinces, who were by this time generally convinced of France's design to encroach upon their territories. They therefore determined to take effectual measures against that restless and ambitious neighbour. The allied powers agreed to assemble a vast army in the Netherlands; and it was resolved that the Austrians and Piedmontese



montese should once more penetrate into Provence. In February, † the duke of Cumberland began to assemble the allied forces, and in the latter end of March they took the field in three separate bodies. His royal highness, with the English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, fixed his head quarters at the village of Tilberg: the prince of Waldeck was posted with the Dutch troops at Breda; and marechal Bathiani collected the Austrians and Bavarians in the neighbourhood of Venlo. The whole army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, who lay inactive six weeks, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and almost destitute of forage and provision. Count Saxe, by this time created marechal general of France, continued his troops within their cantonments at Bruges, Antwerp and Brussels, declaring, that when the allied army should be weakened by sickness and mortality, he would convince the duke of Cumberland, that the first duty of a general is to provide for the health and preservation of his troops. In April this fortunate commander took the field, at the head of one hundred and forty thousand men; and the count de Clermont commanded a separate body of nineteen battallions and thirty squa-

rons. Count Lowendahl was detached on the sixteenth day of the month, with seven and twenty thousand men, to invade Dutch Flanders: at the same time, the French minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the states, intimating that his master was obliged to take this step by the necessity of war: but that his troops should observe the strictest discipline, without interfering with the religion, government or commerce of the republic: he likewise declared, that the countries and places of which he might be obliged to take possession, should be detained no otherwise than as a pledge, to be restored as soon as the United-Provinces should give convincing proofs that they would no longer furnish the enemies of France with succours.

While the states deliberated upon this declaration, count Lowendahl entered Dutch Brabant and invested the town and fortress of Sluys, the garrison of which surrendered themselves prisoners of war on the nineteenth day of April. This was likewise the fate of Sas-van-Ghent; while the marquis de Con- tades, with another detachment, reduced the forts Perle and Leifkenshoek, with the town of Phillippine, even within hearing of the confederate army. The fort of Sanberg was vigorously defended by two English battalions, but they were overpowered and obliged to retire to Welsthoorden; and count Lowen-

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dahl undertook the siege of Hulst, which was shamefully surrendered by La Roquette the Dutch governor, though he knew that a reinforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief. Then the French general took possession of Axel and Terneuse, and began to prepare flat-bottomed boats for a descent on the islands of Zealand. The Dutch people were now struck with consternation. They saw the enemy at their doors, and owed their immediate preservation to the British squadron stationed at the Swin, under the command of commodore Mitchel ||, who, by means of his sloops, tenders, and small craft, took such measures as defeated the intention of Lowendahl. The common people in Zealand being reduced to despair began to clamour loudly against their governors, as if they had not taken the proper measures for their security. The friends of the prince of Orange did not neglect this opportunity of promoting his interest. They encouraged their discontent; they exaggerated the danger.

The people in several towns, inflamed by their representations, to tumult and sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder. He himself, in a letter to the states of Zealand, offered

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|| Not the same that commanded in the West-Indies.

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his services for the defence of the province. On the twenty-eighth day of April, he was nominated captain general and admiral of Zealand. Their example was followed by Rotterdam, and the whole province of Holland; and on the second day of May, the prince of Orange was, in the assembly of the states-general, invested with the power and dignity of stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the united provinces.

The vigorous consequences of this resolution immediately appeared. All commerce and contracts with the French were prohibited; the peasants were armed and exercised: a resolution passed for making a considerable augmentation of the army: a council of war was established for enquiring into the conduct of the governors, who had given up the frontier places; and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French, both by sea and land.

Mean while, the duke of Cumberland took post with his whole army between the two Nethe, to cover Bergen-op-zoom and Maeftricht; and marechal Saxe called in his detachments, with a view to hazard a general engagement. In the latter end of May, the French king arrived at Brussels; and his general resolved to undertake the siege of Maeftricht. For this purpose he advanced towards Louvain; and the confederates perceiving his drift,



drift, began their march to take post between the town and the enemy.

On the twentieth of June, they took possession of their ground, and were drawn up in order of battle, with their right at Bilsen, and their left extending to Wirle, within a mile of Maestricht, having in the front of their left wing the village of Laffeldt, in which they posted several battallions of British infantry. The French had taken possession of the heights of Herdeeren, immediately above the allies; and both armies cannonaded each other till the evening. In the morning, the enemy's infantry marched down the hill, in a prodigious column, and attacked the village of Laffeldt, which was well fortified and defended with amazing obstinacy. The assailants suffered terribly in their approach, from the cannon of the confederates, which was served with surprising dexterity and success; and they met with such a warm reception from the British musquetry as they could not withstand: but, when they were broken and dispersed, fresh brigades succeeded with astonishing perseverance. The confederates were driven out of the village; yet being sustained by three regiments, they measured back their ground, and repulsed the enemy with great slaughter. Nevertheless, count Saxe continued pouring in other battalions; and the French regained and maintained their footing in the village, after

after it had been three times lost and carried. The action was chiefly confined to this post, where the field exhibited a horrible scene of carnage.

At noon the duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance against the enemy, whose infantry gave way: prince Waldeck led up the centre, marechal Balthiani made a motion with the right wing towards Herdeeren, and victory seemed ready to declare for the confederates; when the fortune of the day took a sudden turn to their prejudice. Several squadrons of the Dutch horse, posted in the centre, gave way, and flying at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were advancing from the body of reserve. The French cavalry charged them with great impetuosity, increasing the confusion that was already produced, and penetrating through the lines of the allied army, which was thus divided about the centre. The duke of Cumberland, who exerted himself with equal courage and activity, in attempting to remedy this disorder, was in danger of being taken; and the defeat would, in all probability, have been total, had not Sir John Ligonier taken the resolution of sacrificing himself and a part of the troops to the safety of the army.

At the head of three British regiments of dragoons, and some squadrons of imperial horse,

horse, he charged the whole line of the French cavalry, with such intrepidity and success, that he overthrew all that opposed him; and made such a diversion as enabled the duke of Cumberland to effect an orderly retreat to Maestricht. He himself was taken by a French carabineer, after his horse had been killed; but the regiments he commanded retired with deliberation. The confederates retreated to Maestricht, without having sustained much damage from the pursuit, and even brought off all their artillery except sixteen pieces of cannon. Their loss did not exceed six thousand men killed and taken; whereas, the French general purchased the victory at a much greater expence.

On the eve of the battle, when the detachment of the count de Clermont appeared on the hill of Herdeeren, marechal Bathiani asked permission of the commander in chief to attack them before they should be reinforced, declaring he would answer for the success of the enterprize. No regard was payed to this proposal; but the superior asked in his turn where the marechal would be in case he should be wanted? He replied, "I shall always be found at the head of my troops," and retired in disgust.

The confederates passed the Maese, and encamped in the dutchy of Limburg, so as to cover Maestricht; while the French king remained



remained with his army in the neighbourhood of Tongres. Marechal Saxe, having amused the allies with marches and counter-marches, at length detached count Lowendahl with six and thirty thousand men to besiege Bergen-op-zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, the favourite work of the famous engineer Coehorn, never conquered, and generally esteemed invincible. It was secured with a garrison of three thousand men, and well provided with artillery, ammunition, and magazines.

The enemy appeared before it on the twelfth day of July, and summoned the governor to surrender. The prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen was sent to its relief, with twenty battallions and fourteen squadrons of the troops that could be most conveniently assembled: he entered the lines of Bergen-op-zoom, where he remained in expectation of a strong reinforcement from the confederate army; and the old baron Cronstrom, whom the stadtholder had appointed governor of Brabant, assumed the command of the garrison. The besiegers carried on their operations with great vivacity; and the troops in the town defended it with equal vigour. Count Lowendahl received divers reinforcements; and a considerable body of troops was detached from the allied army, under the command of baron Schwatzenburgh, to co-operate



operate with the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen. The French general lost a great number of men by the close and continual fire of the besiged; while he, in his turn, opened such a number of batterics, and plied them so warmly, that the defences began to give way. From the sixteenth day of July to the fifteenth of September, the siege produced an unintermitting scene of horror and destruction: desperate sallies were made, and mines sprung with the most dreadful effects: the works began to be shattered, the town was laid in ashes, the trenches were filled with carnage: nothing was seen but fire and smoke; nothing heard but one continued roar of bombs and cannon. But still the damage fell chiefly on the besiegers, who were slain in heaps; while the garrison suffered very little, and could be occasionally relieved or reinforced from the lines. It was generally believed that count Lowendahl would be baffled in his endeavours; and by this belief the governor of Bergen-op-zoom seems to have been lulled into a blind security. At length, some inconsiderable breaches were made in one ravelin and two bastions, and these the French general resolved to storm, though Cronstrom believed they were impracticable; and on that supposition, presumed that the enemy would not attempt an assault. For this very reason count Lowendahl

dahl resolved to hazard the attack, before the preparations should be made for his reception. He accordingly regulated his dispositions, and at four o'clock in the morning, on the sixteenth day of September, the signal was made for the assault. A prodigious quantity of bombs being thrown into the ravelin, his troops threw themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally-port, and entered the place, almost without resistance. In a word, they had time to extend themselves along the curtains, and form in order of battle, before the garrison could be assembled. Cronstrom was asleep, and the soldiers upon duty had been surprised by the suddenness and impetuosity of the attack. Though the French had taken possession of the ramparts they did not gain the town without opposition. Two battalions of the Scottish troops, in the pay of the states-general, were assembled in the market-place, and attacked them with such fury, that they were driven from street to street, until fresh reinforcements arriving, compelled the Scots to retreat in their turn; yet, they disputed every inch of ground, and fought until two thirds of them were killed upon the spot. Then they brought off the old governor, abandoning the town to the enemy: the troops that were encamped in the lines retreating with great precipitation, all the forts in the neighbourhood

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immediately surrendered to the victors, who now became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheld. The French king was no sooner informed of Lowendahl's success, than he promoted him to the rank of marechal of France appointed count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, and returned in triumph to Versailles. In a little time after this transaction, both armies were distributed into winter-quarters, and the duke of Cumberland embarked for England.

The French king had, in the preceding year, equipped an expensive armament under the command of the duke d'Anville, for the recovery of Cape-Breton; but it was rendered ineffectual by storms, distempers, and the death of the commander. Not yet discouraged by these disasters, he resolved to renew his efforts against the British colonies in North-America, and their settlements in the East-Indies. For these purposes two squadrons were prepared at Brest, one to be commanded by the commodore de la Jonquiere; and the other, destined for India, by monsieur de St. George.

The ministry of Great-Britain, being apprized of these measures, resolved to intercept both squadrons, which were to set sail together. For this purpose vice-admiral Anson, and rear-admiral Warren took their departure from Plymouth with a formidable



fleet, and steered their course to cape Finisterre on the coast of Gallicia. On the third day of May they fell in with the French squadrons commanded by la Jonquiere and St. George, consisting of six large ships of war, as many frigates, and four armed vessels equipped by their East-India company, having under their convoy about thirty ships laden with merchandize. Those prepared for war immediately shortened sail, and formed a line of battle, while the rest, under the protection of the six frigates, proceeded on their voyage with all the sail they could carry. The British squadron was likewise drawn up in line of battle: but Mr. Warren perceiving that the enemy began to sheer off, now their convoy was at a considerable distance, advised admiral Anson to haul in the signal for the line, and hoist another for giving chace and engaging, otherwise the French would in all probability escape by favour of the night. The proposal was embraced: and in a little time the engagement began with great fury, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy sustained the battle with equal conduct and valour, until they were overpowered by numbers, and then they struck their colours. The admiral detached three ships in pursuit of the convoy, nine sail of which were taken; but the rest were saved by the intervening darkness. About  
seven



seven hundred of the French were killed and wounded in this action. The English lost about five hundred; and among these, captain Grenville, commander of the ship *Defiance*. Eager in the pursuit of glory, he rushed into the midst of the battle, where both his legs were cut off by a cannon-ball. He submitted to his fate with the most heroic resignation, and died universally lamented and beloved. The success of the British arms, in this engagement, was chiefly owing to the conduct, activity, and courage of the rear-admiral.

A considerable quantity of bullion was found in the prizes, which were brought to Spithead in triumph; and the treasure being landed, was conveyed in twenty waggons to the bank of London. Admiral Anson was ennobled, and Mr. Warren honoured with the order of the Bath.

About the middle of June, commodore Fox with six ships of war cruising in the latitude of cape Ortegal in Gallicia, took about forty French ships richly laden from St. Domingo, after they had been abandoned by their convoy. But the French king sustained another more important loss at sea, in the month of October.

Rear-admiral Hawke sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of August, with fourteen ships of the line, to intercept a  
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fleet of French merchant-ships bound for the West-Indies. He cruised for some time on the coast of Bretagne; and at length the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, besides frigates, commanded by monsieur de Lenduer.

On the fourteenth day of October the two squadrons were in sight of each other, in the latitude of Belleisle. The French commodore immediately ordered one of his great ships and frigates to proceed with the trading ships, while he formed the line of battle, and waited the attack. At eleven in the forenoon admiral Hawke displayed the signal to chase, and in half an hour both fleets were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when all the French squadron, except the Intrepide and Tonant, had struck to the English flag. These two capital ships escaped in the dark, and returned to Brest in a shattered condition. The French captains sustained the unequal fight with uncommon bravery and resolution, and did not yield until their ships were disabled. Their loss in men amounted to eight hundred: the number of English killed in this engagement did not exceed two hundred, including captain Saumerez, a gallant officer, who had served under lord Anson in his expedition to the pacific ocean. Immediately after the action, admiral Hawke dispatched

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dispatched a sloop to commodore Legge, whose squadron was stationed at the leeward Islands, with intelligence of the French fleet of merchant-ships, outward bound, that he might take the proper measures for intercepting them in their passage to Martinique, and the other French Islands. In consequence of this advice, he redoubled his vigilance, and a good number of them fell into his hands. Admiral Hawke conducted his prizes to Spithead: in the Mediterranean vice-admiral Medley blocked up the Spanish squadron in Carthagená; assisted the Austrian general on the coast of Villafranca; and intercepted some of the succours sent from France to the assistance of the Genoese. At his death, which hapened in the beginning of August, the command of that squadron devolved on rear-admiral Byng, who proceeded on the same plan of operation. In the summer, two British ships of war, having under their convoy a fleet of merchant-ships bound to North-America, fell in with the *Glorioso*, a Spanish ship of eighty guns, in the latitude of the Western Isles. She had sailed from the Havannah, with an immense treasure on board, and must have fallen a prize to the English ships, had each captain done his duty. Captain Erskine in the *Warwick* of sixty guns, attacked her with great intrepidity, and fought until his ship was en-



tirely disabled; but being unsustained by his consort, he was obliged to haul off, and the *Glorioso* arrived at Ferrol; there the silver was landed, and she proceeded on her voyage to Cadiz, which, however, she did not reach. She was encountered by the *Dartmouth*, a British frigate of forty guns, commanded by captain Hamilton, a gallant youth, who, notwithstanding the inequality of force, engaged her without hesitation; but in the heat of the action, his ship being set on fire by accident, was blown up, and he perished with all his crew, except a midshipman and ten or eleven sailors who were taken up alive by a privateer that happened to be in sight. Favourable as this accident may seem to the *Glorioso*, she did not escape.

An English ship of eighty guns, under the command of captain Buckle, came up, and obliged the Spaniards to surrender, after a short but vigorous engagement. Commodore Griffin had been sent with a reinforcement of ships, to assume the command of a squadron at that time in the East-Indies; and although his arrival secured Fort St. David's, and the other British settlements in that country, from the insults of monsieur de la Bourdonnais, his strength was not sufficient to enable him to undertake any enterprize of importance against the enemy; the ministry of England therefore resolved to equip a fresh

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armament, that, when joined by the ships in India, should be in a condition to besiege Pondicherry, the principal settlement belonging to the French on the coast of Coromandel. For this service a good number of independent companies was raised, and set sail, in the sequel, with a strong squadron under the conduct of rear-admiral Boscawen, an officer of unquestioned valour and capacity. In the course of this year, the British cruisers were so alert and successful, that they took six hundred and forty-four prizes from the French and Spaniards, whereas the loss of Great-Britain, in the same time, did not exceed five hundred and fifty.

The belligerent powers were, by this time, heartily tired of a war which had consumed an immensity of treasure, had been productive of so much mischief, after the battle of Laffeldt, the king of France had, in a personal conversation with Sir John Ligonier, expressed his desire of a pacification; and afterwards his minister at the Hague presented a declaration on the same subject, to the deputies of the states general. The signal successes of the British arms at sea, confirmed him in these sentiments, which were likewise reinforced by a variety of other considerations. He had the mortification to see the commerce of Britain flourish in the midst of war, while his own people were utterly impoverished.

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The parliament of England granted, and the nation paid, such incredible sums as enabled their sovereign, not only to maintain invincible navies and formidable armies, but likewise to give subsidies to all the powers of Europe. He knew that a treaty of this kind was actually upon the anvil between his Britannic majesty and the czarina, and he began to be apprehensive of seeing an army of Russians in the Netherlands. His fears from this quarter were not without foundation. In the month of November, the earl of Hyndford, ambassador from the king of Great-Britain at the court of Russia, concluded a treaty of subsidy, by which the czarina engaged to hold in readiness thirty thousand men, and forty gallies, to be employed in the service of the confederates, on the first requisition. The states-general acceded to this agreement, and even consented to pay one fourth of the subsidy. His most christian majesty, moved by these considerations, made farther advances towards an accommodation both at the Hague and in London; and the contending powers agreed to another congress, which was actually opened in March at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great-Britain.

The

The new house of commons, in imitation of the liberality of their predecessors, readily gratified all the requests of the government. They voted forty thousand seamen, forty-nine thousand land forces, besides eleven thousand five hundred marines; the subsidies for the queen of Hungary, the czarina, the king of Sardinia, the electors of Mentz and Bavaria, the Hessians, and the duke of Wolfenbüttele: of two hundred thirty five thousand seven hundred and forty nine pounds, was granted to the provinces of New England, to reimburse them for the expence of reducing Cape-Breton; five hundred thousand pounds were given to his majesty for the vigorous prosecution of the war; and about one hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds to the Scottish claimants, in lieu of their jurisdiction. The supplies for the ensuing year fell very little short of nine millions. The session of parliament was closed on the thirteenth day of May †; when the king declared to both houses, that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually signed at Aix-la-Chapelle by the ministers of Great-Britain, France, and the United Provinces; and that the basis of this accommodation was a general restitution of the conquests which had been made during the war.



The operations of the campaign had been concerted at the Hague in January, by the respective ministers of the allies, who resolved to bring an army of one hundred and ninety thousand men into the Netherlands, in order to compel the French to abandon the barrier which they had conquered.

The confederates knew that the count de Saxe had a design upon Maestricht; the Austrian general Bathiani made repeated remonstrances to the British ministry, intreating them to take speedy measures for the preservation of that fortress. He in the month of January proposed, that the duke of Cumberland should cross the sea, and confer with the prince of Orange on this subject: he undertook, at the peril of his head, to cover Maestricht with seventy thousand men, from all attacks of the enemy: but his representations seemed to have made very little impression on those to whom they were addressed. The duke of Cumberland did not depart from England till towards the latter end of February: part of March was elapsed before the transports sailed from the Nore with the additional troops and artillery; and the last draughts from the foot-guards were not embarked till the middle of August.

The different bodies of the confederated forces joined each other, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ruremonde, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand men;



men; and the French army invested Maestricht, without opposition, on the third day of April. The garrison consisted of Imperial and Dutch troops, under the conduct of the governor baron d'Aylva, who defended the place with extraordinary skill and resolution. He annoyed the besiegers in repeated sallies; but they were determined to surmount all opposition, and prosecuted their approaches with incredible ardour. They assaulted the covered-way, in which they effected a lodgement, after an obstinate dispute, in which they lost two thousand of their best troops; but, next day, they were entirely dislodged, by the gallantry of the garrison. These hostilities were suddenly suspended, in consequence of the preliminaries signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. The plenipotentiaries agreed, that, for the glory of his christian majesty's arms, the town of Maestricht should be surrendered to his general, on condition that it should be restored, with all the magazines and artillery. He accordingly took possession of it on the third day of May, when the garrison marched out with all the honours of war; and a cessation of arms immediately ensued. By this time the Russian auxiliaries, to the number of thirty-seven thousand, commanded by prince Repnin, had arrived in Moravia, where they were reviewed by their Imperial majesties: then they proceeded to the confines of Franconia, where

where they were ordered to halt, after they had marched seven hundred miles since the beginning of the year. The French king declared, that, should they advance farther, he would demolish the fortifications of Maeftricht and Bergen-op-zoom. This dispute was referred to the plenipotentiaries, who, in the beginning of August, concluded a convention, importing, that the Russian troops should return to their own country; and that the French king should disband an equal number of his forces. The season being far advanced, the Russians were provided with winter-quarters in Bohemia and Moravia, where they continued to the spring, when they marched back to Livonia. In the meantime seven and thirty thousand French troops were withdrawn from Flanders into Picardy, and the two armies remained quiet till the conclusion of the definitive treaty. The suspension of arms was proclaimed at London, and in all the capitals of the contracting powers: orders were sent to the respective admirals in different parts of the world, to refrain from hostilities; and a communication of trade and intelligence was again opened between the nations, which had been at variance.

The French and Spanish troops who had joined the Genoese in the territories of the republic, amounted to thirty thousand men, under the direction of the duke de Richlieu, who

who was sent from France to assume that command, on the death of the duke de Boufflers; while marshal de Belleisle, at the head of fifty thousand men, covered the Western Riviera, which was threatened with an invasion by forty thousand Austrians and Piedmontese, under general Leutrum. At the same time general Brown, with a more numerous army, prepared to re-enter the Eastern Riviera, and re-commence the siege of Genoa. But these intended operations were prevented by an armistice, which took place as soon as the belligerent powers had acceded to the preliminaries.

In the East-Indies, rear-admiral Boscawen undertook the siege of Pondicherry, which, in the month of August, he blocked up by sea with his squadron, and invested by land with a small army of four thousand Europeans, and about two thousand natives of that country. He prosecuted the enterprize with great spirit, and took the fort of Area-Coupan, at the distance of three miles from the town; then he made his approaches to the place, against which he opened batteries, while it was bombarded and cannonaded by the shipping. But the fortifications were so strong, the garrison so numerous, and the engineers of the enemy so expert in their profession, that he made very little progress, and sustained considerable damage. At length, his army being diminished by sickness, and  
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the rainy season approaching, he ordered the artillery and stores to be reimbarcked; and raising the siege on the sixth day of October, returned to Fort St. David, after having lost about a thousand men in this expedition. In the sequel, several ships of his squadron, and above twelve hundred sailors, perished in a hurricane. The naval force of Great Britain was more successful in the West Indies. Rear Admiral Knowles, with a squadron of eight ships, attacked Fort Louis on the south side of Hispaniola, which, after a warm action of three hours, was surrendered on capitulation, and dismantled. Then he made an abortive attempt upon St. Jago de Cuba, and returned to Jamaica, extremely chagrined at his disappointment.

On the first day of October, admiral Knowles, cruising in the neighbourhood of the Havannah with eight ships of the line, encountered a Spanish squadron, of nearly the same strength, under the command of the admirals Reggio and Spinola. The engagement began between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued, with intervals, till eight in the evening, when the enemy retired to the Havannah, with the loss of two ships, one of which struck to the English admiral, and the other was, two days after, set on fire by her own commander, that she might not fall into the hands of the English. Mr. Knowles taxed some of his captains



captains with misbehaviour, and they recri-  
minated on his conduct. On their return to  
England, a court-martial was the conse-  
quence of their mutual accusations. Those  
who adhered to the commander, and those  
whom he impeached, were inflamed against  
each other with the most rancorous resent-  
ment. The admiral himself did not escape  
uncensured: two of his captains were re-  
primanded: but captain Holmes, who had  
displayed uncommon courage, was honour-  
ably acquitted.

No naval transaction of any consequence  
happened in the European seas, during the  
course of this summer. In January, indeed,  
the *Magnanime*, a French ship of the line,  
was taken in the Channel by two English  
cruisers, after an obstinate engagement; and  
the privateers took a considerable number of  
merchant-ships from the enemy.

The plenipotentiaries still continued at  
Aix-la-Chapelle, discussing all the articles of  
the definitive treaty, which was at length  
concluded and signed, on the seventh day of  
October.

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The General and Definitive treaty of Peace,  
concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the  
17-18th of October, 1748.

In the name of the most holy Trinity.

**B**E it known to all, and every one to whom it appertains, or may appertain, in any manner whatever. Europe sees the day at last shine forth, that divine Providence had marked for the re-establishment of its repose : a general peace succeeds the long and bloody war, which has been carried on between the serene and most potent prince George the second, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and the serene and most potent princess Maria Theresa, by the grace of God, queen of Hungary and Bohemia, &c. empress of the Romans on one side : and the serene and most potent prince Lewis XV. by the grace of God the most christian king, on the other ; as also the king of Great-Britain, the empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia and the serene and most potent prince Charles Emanuel III. by the grace of God king of Sardinia, on one side ; and the serene and most potent prince Philip V. by the grace of God king of Spain and the Indies, of glorious memory,

memory, and after his decease the serene and most potent prince Ferdinand VI: by the grace of God king of Spain and the Indies, on the other, in which war were interested the high and mighty lords the states general of the united provinces of the low-countries, as auxiliaries of the king of Great Britain, and the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and the serene duke of Modena, and the serene republick of Genoa, as auxiliaries of the king of Spain.

God, in his mercy, having made known to all those powers, at the same time, the way by which he would that they should be reconciled, and restore tranquility to the people which he has submitted to their government; they sent their ministers plenipotentiary to Aix-la-Chapelle; where those of the king of Great-Britain and of the most christian king, and of the states general of the united provinces, having agreed on the preliminary articles for a general pacification, and those of the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, of the catholick king, of the king of Sardinia, of the duke of Modena, and of the republick of Genoa, having acceded thereto, a general cessation of hostilities both by sea and land happily resulted therefrom.

In order therefore to accomplish in the same place of Aix-la-Chapelle, the great work  
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of peace, so agreeable to all, the high contracting powers have nominated, and furnished with their full powers, the following most illustrious and excellent lords for their ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, to wit ;

His sacred Britannick majesty, the lord John earl of Sandwich, viscount of Hinchinbrock, baron Montagu of St. Neot's peer of England, first lord commissioner of the admiralty, one of the lords of the regency of his kingdom, and his minister plenipotentiary to the states general of the united provinces ; and sir Thomas Robinson, knight of the most honourable order of the Bath, and his minister plenipotentiary to his majesty the emperor of the Romans and her majesty the empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia.

His sacred most christian majesty, the lords Alphonso Maria Lewis, count de St. Severin d'Arragon, knight of his orders ; and John Gabriel de la Port duThiel, knight of the order of our lady of Montcarmel, and of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, privy counsellor of the king, secretary of his majesty's chamber and cabinet, and of the orders of monsieur the dauphin and the mesdames of France.

Her sacred majesty the empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia, the lord Wenzesla; Anthony, count de Caunitz Rittberg, lord of Essens, Heversdorff, Witmund, Austerlits,



lits, Hungrischbrod, Wiete, &c. secretary of state to their imperial majesties.

His sacred catholick majesty, the lord don James Mazones de Lima y Soto Major, gentleman of the chamber of his said catholic majesty, and field marshal of his armies.

His sacred majesty the king of Sardinia, the lords don Joseph Offorio, knight of the Great Cross, and grand conservator of the military order of the saints Maurice and Lazarus, and envoy extraordinary to his majesty the king of Great Britain; and Joseph Borre, count de Chavannes, his counsellor of state, and his minister to the lords the states general of the united provinces.

The high and mighty lords the states general of the united provinces, the lords William count de Bentinck, lord of Rhoon and Pendrecht, of the body of nobles of the province of Holland and West-Friesland, guardian of the university of Leyden, &c. &c. &c. Frederick Henry, baron de Wassenae, lord of Catwyk and Zand, of the body of nobles of the province of Holland and West-Friesland, &c. &c. Gerard-Aarnout Hasselaer, burgo-master and counsellor of the city of Amsterdam, director of the East-India company; John Baron de Borsselle, first noble and representative of the nobility in the states, the council and admiralty of Zealand, director of the East-India company; Onno Zwier de puty-

Haren, grietman of Westellinghwerf, deputy-counsellor of the province of Friesland, and commissary-general of all the Swiss troops and Grisons in the service of the said lords the states-general; the respective deputies to the assembly of the states-general, and to the council of state on the part of the provinces of Holland and West-Friesland, and of Zealand and Friesland.

The serene duke of Modena, the sieur count de Monzone, his counsellor of state, colonel in his service, and his minister plenipotentiary to the most christian king. And,

The serene republic of Genoa, the sieur Francis marquis Doria.

Who, after having communicated their powers, in due form (of which the Copies are added at the end of the present treaty) and conferred upon the divers topics, which their sovereigns judged necessary to have inserted in this Instrument of General Peace, have agreed upon the following Articles.

I. THERE shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace, both by sea and land, and a sincere and inviolable friendship, between the high powers before mentioned, their heirs and successors, kingdoms, states, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition soever, without exception of place or person, in such a manner, that

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that the high contracting parties shall have a constant attention to maintain, between them and their said states and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and correspondence, without permitting, either one party or the other to commit any sort of hostilities, on any account or pretence whatever, and shunning every thing which may tend to disturb or alter the union now so happily re-established between them; engaging themselves, on the contrary, to procure, on all occasions, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests, and advantages, without giving any succour or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who may so much as attempt to prejudice either one or other of the said high contracting parties.

II. There shall be a general oblivion of all that has been done or committed during the war, which is now put an end to: and each party, on the day of exchange of the ratifications on all sides, shall be restored to the possession of all his effects, dignities, ecclesiastical benefices, honours and revenues, which he enjoyed, or ought to have enjoyed, on the commencement of the war, notwithstanding all the disposals, seizures, or confiscations occasioned by the said war.

III. The treaty of Westphalia, of 1648; those of Madrid, between the crowns of England and Spain, of 1667 and 1670; the treaties



treaties of peace of Nimeguen, of 1678 and 1679; of Ryswick, of 1697; of Utrecht, of 1713; of Baden, of 1714; the treaty of the triple alliance of the Hague, of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London, of 1718; and the treaty of peace of Vienna, of 1738; shall serve as a basis and foundation to the general peace and to the present treaty: and, for this purpose, those treaties are renewed and confirmed in the best form, and as if they were inserted word for word, and are still to be exactly observed in their full force and virtue, and religiously executed on all sides; excepting, however, some points, which are derogated from by the present treaty.

IV. The prisoners made on all sides, as well by sea as land, and the hostages required or given during the war, to this day, shall be restored without ransom in six weeks or sooner, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and to be proceeded on immediately after this exchange: and all the ships, as well men of war as merchantmen, which may have been taken since the expiration of the times agreed on for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall be restored, bona fide, with all their stores and cargoes; and security given, on both sides, for the payment of debts, which the prisoners or hostages may have contracted in the countries wherein they have been detained to the time they are set at liberty.

V. All



V. All the conquests, which have been made since the commencement of the war, or which, since the conclusion of the preliminary articles, signed the thirtieth of April last, may have been, or are made, either in Europe, or in the East or West-Indies, or in any other part of the world whatever, shall be restored, without exception, in conformity to what was stipulated by the aforesaid preliminary articles, and by the declarations that have been since signed: the high contracting powers do covenant, not only immediately to proceed to make such restitutions, but likewise in putting his most serene highness Don Philip into the possession of those estates, which were agreed to be delivered up to him, by virtue of the preliminary articles aforesaid: the said parties solemnly renouncing, for themselves, their heirs, and successors, all right and claim whatsoever, by what title or pretence soever, to all the estates, countries and places, that they have respectively covenanted to restore; saving however, and reserving the reversion of such estates, so agreed to be delivered into the hands of the aforesaid most serene infant Don Philip.

VI. It is determined and agreed, that the respective restitutions and cessions in Europe shall all be entirely made and executed, on every side, in the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible, from the day of the exchange

change of the ratifications of the present treaty of the eight parties before-mentioned; so that, within the same term of six weeks, the most Christian king shall restore both to the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and to the states-general of the United Provinces, all the places he has taken from them during the war.

The empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, in consequence hereof, shall be replaced in the full and peaceable possession of all that she enjoyed before the present war in the Low-Countries and elsewhere, except what is otherwise settled by the present treaty. At the same time, the lords, the states-general of the United-Provinces, are to be put into full and peaceable possession, such as they enjoyed before the present war, of the towns of Bergen-op-Zoom and Maestricht, and of all they possessed before the present war in Dutch Flanders, Brabant, Holland, and elsewhere.

And the towns and places in the Low-Countries, the sovereignty of which belonged to the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, wherein their high-mightinesses have the right of garrison, shall be evacuated to the troops of the republic in the same time. The king of Sardinia to be, in the same time and manner, entirely re-established and maintained in the dutchy of Savoy, and in the county of Nice, and also in all the states, countries, places

places and forts, taken from him on occasion of the present war.

The serene duke of Modena, and the serene republic of Genoa, shall, at the same time, be entirely re-established and maintained in the states, countries, places, and forts, taken from them during the present war; and this agreeable to the tenor of the thirteenth and fourteenth articles of this treaty relating thereto.

All the restitutions and cessions of the said towns, forts and places, to be made, with all the artillery and ammunition found therein, on the day of their occupation in the course of the war, by the powers which have made the said cessions and restitutions, and this according to the inventories which have been made, or which shall be delivered, bona fide, on all sides; extending so far, that, as to the pieces of artillery which have been sent elsewhere to be new cast, or for any other purposes, they are to be replaced by the same number, of the same sort in weight and metal: but the towns of Mons, Athe, Oudenarde, and Menin, the fortifications of which have been demolished, are to be given up without the artillery. Nothing is to be demanded for the money expended on the fortifications of all the others, nor for other public or private works which have been made in the countries thus to be restored.



VII. In consideration of the restitutions their most christian and catholic majesties make by the present treaty, either to her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or to his majesty the king of Sardinia, the dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, shall, for the future, belong to the serene infant Don Philip, and be possessed by him, and his male descendants, born in legitimate marriage, in the same manner and extent, as they have been enjoyed by the present possessor; and the said serene infant, or his male descendants, shall enjoy the three said dutchies, agreeable to, and on the conditions expressed in, the acts of cession of the empress-queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia; to be remitted, together with their ratifications of the present treaty, to the ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the catholic king, in the manner as the ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of their most christian and catholic majesties shall remit, with the ratifications of their majesties, to that of the king of Sardinia, the orders to the generals of the French and Spanish troops, for restoring Savoy, and the county of Nice, to persons commissioned to receive them: so that the restitution of the said states, and the taking possession of the dutchies of Parma, &c. by, or in the name of, the serene infant Don Philip, may be effected at the same time, agreeable



agreeable to the articles of cession, the tenor whereof is as follows:

*The Act of Cession of the Empress-Queen.*

WE, Maria Theresa, &c. make known, by these presents, That, in order to put an end to this fatal war, the ministers-plenipotentiary of the serene and most potent prince George II. king of Great-Britain; and of the serene and most potent prince Lewis XV. the most christian king; as well as of the high and mighty lords the states-general of the United-Provinces, agreed, on the thirtieth of April, of the present year, on certain preliminary articles, which have been since accepted and ratified by all the princes interested therein. The tenor of the Fourth of these Articles is conceived in the following manner:

“The dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, shall be ceded to the infant Don Philip, to be held by him by way of establishment, with the right of reversion to the present possessors, after his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies shall be removed to the crown of Spain, or in case the said serene infant don Philip should die without issue.”

And, as this has been followed by a definitive treaty, the articles of which explain the

many heads concerning this matter, which has been likewise unanimously accepted by all those interested therein, and, among other things, declaring, That, &c. — Here follows verbatim the Seventh Article of the Treaty.

'Tis upon this account, and in order to acquit ourselves of what we are obliged to by the present articles, in a firm hope that the most christian and catholic kings, as well as the future possessor of the three dutchies and his male descendants, will fulfil, bona fide, the tenor of the articles before-mentioned, that we do renounce and quit, all rights, claims, and pretensions, belonging to us, under what title or cause soever, upon the said three duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, by us formerly possessed: which said rights, claims, and pretensions, we transfer, in the best and most solemn form possible, to the serene infant of Spain, don Philip, and to his male descendants lawfully begotten. We absolve, generally, all the inhabitants of the said dutchies from the oath of allegiance which they have taken to us; but that which they take to those to whom we cede our rights, is to hold no farther, than while the serene infant don Philip, or any of his descendants, have not ascended the throne of the Two Sicilies, or that of Spain; we reserving expressly, as well for us as our successors, all the rights, claims,

claims, and pretensions, which to us have formerly belonged, on these dutchies, as also the right of reversion, in case the said infant should die without male issue.

*The King of Sardinia's Act of Cession.*

CHARLES EMANUEL, &c. The desire we have to contribute, on our part, to the speedy re-establishment of the public tranquillity, has engaged us to accede to the preliminary articles, signed on the thirtieth of last April, between the ministers of his Britannic majesty, of his most christian majesty, and the lords the states-general of the United-Provinces; which we did on the thirty-first of May, by the hands of our plenipotentiary.

As to what is to be performed on our part, in pursuance of the said preliminaries, particularly that which regards the execution of the Fourth Article of the said preliminaries; in virtue of which, the dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, are to be ceded to the serene prince don Philip of Spain, for him to hold by way of establishment, with the right of reversion to the present possessors, when his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies shall have mounted the throne of Spain, or in case the said infant should die without male issue; we renounce, in virtue of the



present act, cede and transfer, as well for us as our successors, to the said serene infant don Philip, and to his male descendants born in lawful marriage, the town of Placentia, and the Plaisantine, by us possessed, for him to enjoy it in quality of duke of Parma; renouncing on this account all rights, claims, and pretensions belonging to us; but reserving expressly, nevertheless, as well for us as our successors, the right of reversion in the cases above-mentioned. In witness whereof, &c.

VIII. For assuring and effecting the said restitutions, it is agreed, that they shall be entirely executed and accomplished on all sides, in Europe, within the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible, from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of all the eight powers; and in order thereto, in fifteen days after the signature of the present treaty, the generals or other persons, which the high contractors on each side shall think proper to commission, shall assemble at Brussels and Nice, to concert and agree on the means of proceeding to the restitutions, in a manner equally convenient for the troops, the inhabitants, and the respective countries; but so that all and each of the high contracting parties may be, conformable to their intentions and engagements contracted by the present treaty, in entire and peaceable possession, without any exception, be it by cession or

otherwise



otherwise, within the term of six weeks, or sooner, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty of all the said eight powers.

IX. In consideration that, notwithstanding the mutual engagement taken by the 18th article of the preliminaries, importing, that all the restitutions should proceed on an equal footing, and be executed at the same time, his most christian majesty engages by the sixth article of the present treaty, to restore in six weeks, or sooner if possible, from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, all the conquests he has made in the Low Countries, while it is impossible, from the distance of the country, that what concerns America can be effected at the same time, or the term fixed for its perfect execution; his Britannic majesty likewise engages on his side to send to the most christian king, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, two persons of rank and condition, to continue in France as hostages, till such time as they have certain and authentic advice of the restitution of the royal island called Cape Breton, and of all the conquests that the arms or subjects of his Britannic majesty may have made, before or after the signature of the preliminaries, in the East and West Indies. Their Britannic and most Christian majesties oblige themselves to remit, on the exchange of the ratifications

of the present treaty, the duplicates of the orders given to the commissaries, respectively appointed to restore and receive all which may have been conquered on each side in the East and West Indies, conformable to the second article of the preliminaries, and to the declarations of the twenty-first and thirty-first of May, and the eighth of July last, in what concerns the said conquests in the East and West Indies.

Provided nevertheless, that the royal island of Cape-Breton, shall be restored, with all the artillery and ammunition found therein on the day of its surrender; and as to the other restitutions, they shall have their effect conformable to the tenor of the eleventh article of the preliminaries, and the declarations and conventions of the twenty-first and thirty-first of May, and the eighth of July, in the state wherein things were found on the eleventh of June, N. S. in the West-Indies, and the thirty-first of October, likewise N. S. in the East Indies. All other things to be restored on the footing they were before the present war.

The said respective commissaries, as well those for the West as those for the East Indies, are to be ready to set out on the first advice that their Britannic and most Christian majesties receive of the exchange of the ratifications, furnished with all the necessary instructions, commissions, powers, and orders,

ders, for the most speedy accomplishment of the intentions of their said majesties, and of the engagements which they have contracted by the present treaty.

X. The ordinary revenues of the countries which are to be respectively restored or yielded up, and the imposts laid for the support and winter-quarters of the troops, shall belong to the powers which are in possession, till the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; without its being permitted, however, to use any manner of execution, provided they have been given sufficient notice for the payment. The forage and utensils for the troops to be furnished to the time of evacuation; by means of which all the powers promise and engage to repeat nothing, nor exact any taxes and contributions, which they might have established on the countries, towns, and places they have occupied in the course of the war, and that they had not been paid to the time that the events of the said war had obliged them to abandon the said countries, towns, and places; all pretensions of this nature being made void by the present treaty.

XI. All the papers, letters, instructions, and archives, found in the countries, lands, towns, and places which are to be restored, and those belonging to the countries ceded, shall be respectively delivered or furnished, *bona fide*, at the same time, if possible, with



the taking possession, or at farthest two months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty of all the eight parties, in whatever place the said papers or instructions are found, namely, those which had been removed from the archive of the grand council of Mechlin.

XII. His majesty the king of Sardinia shall remain in possession of what he both antiently and lately enjoyed, and particularly of the acquisition he made, in 1743, of the Vigevnasque, one part of the Pavese, and of the county of Anghiera, in the manner that this prince possesses them at this day, by virtue of the cessions which have been made him.

XIII. The serene duke of Modena, in virtue as well of the present treaty, as of his rights, prerogatives, and dignities, shall take possession in six weeks, or sooner if possible, after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty, of all the states, places, forts, effects and revenues, which he enjoyed before the war. He is to have restored to him, likewise, at the same time, the archives, instructions, writings, and moveables, of what nature soever; as also the artillery, baggage, and ammunition which were found in the places at the time of their occupation: for as to so much as shall be wanting, or have been converted into any other form, the just value of the things so removed shall be paid in ready



ready money; which price, as well as the equivalent of the fiefs, which the serene duke of Modena possessed in Hungary, if they are not restored, shall be stated and regulated by the respective generals or commissaries, who, according to the eighth article of the present treaty, are to assemble at Nice in fifteen days after the signature, in order to consult on the means of executing the reciprocal restitutions and possessions; so that at the same time, and on the same day that the serene duke of Modena shall take possession of all his estates, he may enter likewise into the enjoyment, either of his fiefs in Hungary, or the said equivalent, and receive the price of the things, which cannot be restored him: he shall also, in the same term of six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications, have justice done him in regard to the allodial effects of the house of Guastalla.

XIV. The serene republick of Genoa, as well in virtue of the present treaty, as of its rights, prerogatives and dignities, shall enter into possession, in six weeks, or sooner if possible, after the exchange of the ratifications of the said treaty, of all the states, forts, places, counties, of what nature soever, rents and revenues, which it enjoyed before the war; particularly all and each of the members and subjects of the said republick shall re-enter, in the said term after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, into the possession,

possession, enjoyment, and liberty of disposing of all the funds which they had in the banks of Vienna, in Austria, in Bohemia, or in any other part of the dominions of the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and of the king of Sardinia; and the interests shall be paid them exactly and regularly, from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

XV. It is concluded and agreed between the eight high contracting powers, that for the benefit and support of the peace in general, and for the tranquillity of Italy in particular, all things shall remain in the state and condition they were in before the war; the execution of the dispositions made by the present treaty, only excepted.

XVI. The treaty of the Affiento, signed at Madrid, March 27, 1713, and the article of the annual ship, making part of the said treaty, are particularly confirmed by the present treaty for the four years, during which the enjoyment was lost since the commencement of the present war, and shall be executed on the same footing, and on the same conditions they have been, or might be, before the said war.

XVII. Dunkirk shall continue fortified on the land side, in its present state; and as to the sea side, 'tis to remain on the footing of antient treaties.

XVIII. The claims of money of his Britannick majesty, as elector of Hanover, upon the

the crown of Spain; the differences concerning the abbey of St. Hubert; the boundaries of Hainault, and the courts lately established in the Low-Countries; the pretensions of the elector palatine, and the other articles, which have not been regulated, and therefore cannot be inserted in the present treaty, shall be settled amicably by the commissaries nominated for that purpose on each side, or otherwise as it shall be agreed on by the interested powers.

**XIX.** The fifth article of the treaty of quadruple alliance, concluded at London, August 2, 1718, containing the guaranty of the succession to the kingdom of Great-Britain, and to his descendants of both sexes, is expressly renewed by the present article, as much as if it had been inserted in its full extent.

**XX.** His Britannick majesty, in quality of elector of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, both for himself and his heirs and successors, as also all his estates and possessions in Germany, are guarantied by the present treaty.

**XXI.** All the powers interested in the present treaty, who have guarantied the pragmatic sanction of April 19, 1713, for the entire inheritance of the late emperor Charles VI. in favour of his daughter, the present queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and of her descendants for ever, according to the order settled by the said pragmatic sanction, renew it in the best manner possible; the cessations



sions already made, either by the late emperor, the said princess his daughter, or those stipulated by the present treaty, only excepted.

**XXII.** The dutchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz, as his Prussian majesty now possesses them, are guarantied to that prince by all the powers, parties, and contractors of the present treaty.

**XXIII.** All the powers contracting and interested in the present treaty, reciprocally and respectively guarantee its execution.

**XXIV.** The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, drawn up in legal and due form, shall be exchanged by and between all the eight parties, within the space of a month, or sooner if possible, from the day of signing in this city of Aix-la-Chapelle.

In witness whereof, We their ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty with our own hands, and have set our seals with our respective coats of arms thereunto.

Done at Aix-la-Chapelle,  
the 7-18 day of October, 1748.

SEPA



## SEPARATE ARTICLES.

**S**OME of the titles made use of by the contracting parties, as well in the powers and other acts during the course of the negotiation, as in the preamble of the present treaty, not being generally acknowledged; it is concluded and agreed, that no prejudice shall ever result therefrom to any of the said contracting parties; and that no consequences are to be cited or drawn from the titles taken or omitted on any side, on account of the said negotiation and the present treaty.

**I**I. It is agreed, that the French language made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, and which may be used in the acts of accession, shall not furnish any precedent or consequence to be alledged or drawn therefrom, nor occasion the least prejudice in any manner, to any of the contracting powers as they must conform, for the future, to what has been and may be observed, on the part of the powers in possession, of giving and receiving copies of the like treaties and acts in any other language.

The present treaty, and the accessions consequent thereupon, are to have the same force and effect as if the said custom had been observed; and the present separate articles are to have likewise the same force, as if they had been inserted in the treaty.

In witness whereof, we the under-written ambassadors extraordinary and ministers plenipoten-

potentiary of his Britannick majesty, of his most christian majesty, and of the lords the states-general of the united provinces, have signed the present separate articles, and affix'd thereunto the seals of our arms, &c.

Done at Aix-la-Chapelle

the 7-18 of October, 1748.

*The Act for giving force and vigour to the definitive treaty, was conceiv'd in the following terms.*

**T**H E ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of the king of Great Britain, his most christian majesty, and the states-general of the united provinces, having concluded and signed, on the 18th of this present month of October, a general and definitive treaty of peace upon the foundation, and in conformity to the preliminaries, settled and agreed upon amongst them upon the 30th of April, in this city of Aix-la-Chapelle, and afterwards accepted and ratified by all the powers engaged in the war; to which treaty the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his catholick majesty has given the accession of that prince on the 20th of the said month, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia has given the accession of that princess on the 23d of the said month: and forasmuch as in the said treaty, and in the said accession, there is nothing in any degree prejudicial to what was stipulated, agreed, and

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concerted by the said preliminaries, generally accepted, the ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and of the king of Great Britain, have agreed, that in case any of the said powers engaged in the war refuse or delay its accession to the said treaty, so as to create any apprehensions of retarding the accomplishment of the measures agreed to and fixed in the said treaty, their majesties in concert with each other, as well as with the powers either contracting or acceding to the said treaty, will employ the most efficacious methods for carrying into execution the said measures, in order that all the parties, whether contracting or acceding, shall, by the time fix'd by the said treaty, be put into full and peaceable possession of whatever is to be either restored, or to belong to them, by way either of restitution or cession. In witness of which, we the under-written ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and the king of Great Britain, in pursuance of the intentions of their respective sovereigns, have signed the present act, and have put thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Aix-la-Chapelle, October 24,  
1748.

Sign'd,

(L. S.) Count Caunitz Ritzberg.

(L. S.) Sandwich.

(L. S.) Th. Robinson.

E I N I S